

folk music in

united states

by BRUNO M

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PREFACE

During the past few years, folk music has become such a popular subject in America that hundreds of collections, printed and recorded, and dozens of descriptive books have appeared. Most of the latter concern themselves with special fields within American folk music, but, surprisingly, no over-all survey or summary of the subject in its entirety exists. The folk music of the non-English-speaking groups has been especially neglected in attempts to survey the field. This volume is intended, in an introductory and elementary fashion, to fill that gap. It does not pretend to be definitive or comprehensive nor to present new material. Based on previous publications by many authors, its purpose is to introduce the layman to the great variety of forms and cultures represented in the folk music in this country. Only a glimpse into each of the larger categories is offered, and many important song types, instruments, and ethnic groups are omitted. The emphasis is on the music; words are here a secondary consideration. I have tried to include such material on folk music in general as is necessary for understanding the material in this country (hence the non-American examples), and I have gone beyond what is usually included in folk music discussions in order to show the use of folk music in the modern city, in the professional singer's repertory, and in art music. But I advise the reader to continue beyond this introduction, which merely scratches the surface of the subject, into the fascinating world of folk music, a world to which the United States has made a

unique contribution. The chapter bibliographies are included with the reader's further exploration in mind. Changes made in this revised edition are minimal. I have corrected obvious errors, and I have heeded some suggestions made by reviewers of the first edition. Also, I have brought biographical aids (p. 118-122) up to date, and I have added an index.

Finally, I am indebted to Richard M. Dorson for the idea of writing this book and for his valuable advice and suggestions.

BRUNO NETTL

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I

DEFINING FOLK MUSIC

The term "folk music" has been much used and abused in recent years, but it has been endowed with ever-increasing prestige. Indeed, much of the misuse of the term has been caused by a kind of veneration on the part of the public, which has been exploited by some individuals who use folk music in commercial pursuits, finding that their sales increase when the label "folk" is applied to their material. Sometimes they have used the term to cover music which under no honest definition could be accepted as folklore. Some of the confusion has indirectly stemmed from the inability of scholars to find a generally accepted definition.¹ I should like to show some of the diversity of opinion regarding such a definition and then adopt one as the basis of our further discussion.

There seem to be two main approaches to defining folk music. One is concerned with the properties of folk music as such, the other with its cultural milieu or background. For some people folk music must sound a certain way, it must be composed in a particular style and any music which conforms to this style is folk music. If one follows the other approach, one accepts as folk music all music produced by a particular group in society, which one calls and defines as the "folk."

Who the people included as "folk" are is something which folklorists have had considerable difficulty deciding, and nothing is better evidence of their lack of unanimity than the many definitions in the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore*.² Students of folk

music must necessarily agree in their definitions with the folklorists at large, and they, too, have used many definitions of "folk." For Béla Bartók folk music was simply peasant music, or rural music.³ For other scholars it has meant music especially characteristic of a given country or ethnic group, whether rural or urban. While most modern researchers agree with Bartók to some extent, many also tend to believe that folk music has existed in the towns and cities, at least under some circumstances.

The notion that folk music is very old has played a part in the problem of defining it. The idea that songs have always been with a people is a common feature in the creation myths of many primitive tribes, and the emphasis placed on tradition, the close identification of an entire people with its songs, has influenced research to the extent of causing the rejection of otherwise acceptable material simply because it lacked sufficient age. We must, however, distinguish between individual creations and the style in which they are composed. While a style may be very old, the songs composed in that style may be comparatively recent. Thus many folk songs are only a few decades old; although most of them are somewhat older, some may even go back many centuries. But many of the new folk songs are not appreciably different in style from those composed in earlier times. The opposite may also be true, however. A song may be old, but it may have changed in style over the years so that it bears hardly any evidence of its age. All of this shows us that, in contrast to cultivated music (music that is part of a culture through a written tradition), a folk song often has a life quite independent of its characteristic qualities, which is what we call "style."

There is also a strong belief that the origin of a piece of music determines whether it is folklore or not. A song composed by a trained, professional composer is not acceptable as folk music, but one created by an untrained musician is acceptable. Then again, we find the opinion that a song is a folk song even if written by a trained composer, as long as its origin is not known to the performers and hearers. The trouble with these definitions, however valuable in special cases, is that they depend on

the gaps in our knowledge of folk song origins. If our information increased, the number of folk songs would have to decline. Although it has not changed in the process, a song whose origin is suddenly discovered would have to be reclassified.

Another basis for defining folk music is the manner in which it is transmitted. People learn some things through reading and other things by being told or shown. Political news which is read in a newspaper and a skill which is learned from a textbook are elements of culture which are transmitted in written tradition. Information which is passed from one person to another through speech is transmitted in oral tradition; songs, tales, methods of sewing, decorating, boat-building, beliefs, proverbs, riddles may be transmitted in this way, and if so, they are classed as folklore. Some cultures, like those of the American Indians, the African Negroes, and the Polynesians, make use of oral tradition exclusively; they are the so-called primitive cultures. But even the members of urban cultures, living in the centers of educated, literate society, learn some things by oral tradition, directly from other people, perhaps from their parents and childhood friends. Music of this sort can, with certain qualifications, be accepted as folklore. This is the most commonly accepted criterion today, and it will be ours in the following chapters.

School songs and religious music are often passed on by oral tradition, but they are rarely classified as folklore, for they are associated with institutions, like school and church, and they are composed, written, taught, and developed by professional musicians. Hymns and songs taught in school are usually passed on by printed media, and oral tradition enters only when a large mass of people learn them; of course this music is related to folklore, but we cannot accept it without qualification. On the other hand, some hymns do live entirely or largely in oral tradition, and these we distinguish by the term "folk-hymns."

A song may be a folk song at one time or in one place and an art song at a different time or place. Many songs begin in written form, created by a trained composer, and remain in the art song tradition. If, at the same time, they pass into the oral tradition for a sufficient time, they can also be considered folk songs.

The broad field of folk music is usually thought of in terms of two main subdivisions: folk music proper and primitive music. Folk music exists in certain segments of those cultures which have reading and writing, whereas primitive music belongs to the so-called pre-literate peoples. However, as a whole, primitive music is not really more primitive or more simple than folk music; indeed, it is often much more complex and highly developed. The difference between folk and primitive music is largely a reflection of the differences between folk and non-literate cultures; but we can also distinguish these two kinds of music by their styles, by the way they sound. Existing in literate societies, folk music is always in close contact with art music and popular music. There is always an interchange of musical materials and influence, and the folk music of a given country is bound to have many of the characteristics of the cultivated music of that country. Primitive music is less closely related to urban culture; it tends to sound strange to persons accustomed to hearing only cultivated music.

How and why does folk music come into being? This has been answered vaguely in many ways by many scholars, and only a few of the various kinds of theories can be touched upon here. An early one, propounded among others by the famous Grimm brothers, is that of the communal origin of folklore.⁴ It maintains that all folklore, including folk music, is the expression of an entire people and that the whole ethnic group is the creator of each item of folklore. While this theory is credible in a rather indefinite and idealistic sense, it does not give due credit to the individual creators of folklore; indeed, it does not recognize them at all, and it is hardly accepted today.

Another theory, maintained by the Germans, Hans Naumann and John Meier, and slightly related to — but also distinct from — that of *communal creation*, states that an item of folklore, such as a song, originates in a sophisticated, urban society as art music, and is later taken up by lower social strata. It becomes *gesunkenes Kulturgut* (debased or lowered cultural elements).⁵ For example, some songs by Franz Schubert, a member of a sophisticated musical culture, have passed into oral tradition and become folk songs in Austria and southern Germany. On the other

hand, this theory does not admit that folklore and folk music could be created by the unsophisticated members of folk cultures. Like communal creation, it does not credit the individual in a folk community with any creativity.

The relationship between true folk songs, created by members of folk groups, and cultivated songs which pass into oral tradition has been used by Franz Magnus Boehme, an important pioneer in folk music research, to formulate a universal series of stages in the history of folk song.⁶ He believes that true folk songs were created only before cultivated music came into existence. Later the sophisticated began to create songs which resemble folk music in their simplicity and their general appeal; these are called "*volkstümliche Lieder*" (popular or folk-like songs), and their appearance coincides with the division of society into cultivated and folk segments. Finally, in the third stage, even the folk have assimilated a good deal of sophisticated civilization. The true folk songs disappear and are entirely replaced by the folk-like songs. This theory is interesting and certainly contains some truth, especially if applied to German culture, but whether it is indicative of the history of folk music everywhere is something which we will never learn, just as a great many other questions basic to the entire field will always remain unanswered. One fundamental difficulty is that one can only rarely separate the true folk songs from the folk-like songs; for this reason we shall call both folk music without distinction.

There are no essential differences between the way cultivated music is composed and the methods used to create a folk song for the first time. The basic difference appears only *after* the initial creative act, when the task of the original composer himself is accomplished. A piece of cultivated music, for instance a symphony by Mozart, was performed in about the same way 150 years ago as it is today. True, changes in taste concerning tempo (speed) and size of the orchestra, etc., have taken place, but there would be no difficulty in identifying the two performances as interpretations of the same piece of music. The reason for this is that the symphony was learned by musicians then and now from the same printed sources, and thus both were equally close

to the original composition. Individual pieces of music in written tradition do not change appreciably in their performance over the years; but pieces of folk music do, owing to the phenomenon of *communal re-creation*. This term, invented by Phillips Barry,⁷ was coined to counteract the idea of communal creation, which assumes that an entire people create folklore, but is also supposed to indicate that many anonymous persons share in molding most items of folklore into the shape they have today. Supposing you look for a song like "Lord Randall" in a large printed collection; you are likely to find a number of different versions, all moderately similar, rather than one standard form. None of these versions, or variants, is the original. But all of them are descended from one or a few original versions which have been changed by all the persons who learned them or passed them on to others. Such changes come about for various reasons, including failure of memory and the desire to make changes and improvements. We have, then, a continuous line of changes and additions which sometimes alter the original beyond recognition. Although only one person created the first product, all of the people who have learned and retaught it have shared in re-creating it in its present form. Communal re-creation, the making of variants, is perhaps the greatest distinguishing feature in folk music as opposed to cultivated music. Oral tradition itself would not be particularly relevant or interesting if it did not result in this essential quality.

Singers tend to change songs for three reasons. One is forgetfulness. Another is individual creativity, the desire to improve a song, to change it according to one's own personal taste. A third is the tendency for a song to change in order for it to conform to the style of other songs in its environment. This is especially important when a song is passed from one country, culture, or ethnic group to another. We find that many tunes have variants in numerous European countries. But in each place the tune has taken on some traits of the local folk music style. If a Czech song is learned by Germans, it will in time begin to sound like a German song. All of this applies separately to melody and words; the two components may stay together or act independently.

Having discussed cultivated and folk music, we shall quickly mention a third, an intermediate category: the so-called popular music, which one finds in juke-boxes, on popular radio programs, and in sheet music publications. It is usually created by professionals, performed by professionals, and learned from the written page; it acts in this sense, therefore, like cultivated music. However, listeners often learn popular songs without having seen the written score. And occasionally a popular song, such as a song by Stephen Foster, passes into oral tradition and remains there even after it is no longer performed professionally.

I have outlined some of the basic characteristics of folk music in its social environment. Today folk music may seem a rather remote bit of culture, interesting perhaps for the antiquarian and the seeker of unusual entertainment. Yet folk music has played a part, and musically a very significant part, in almost everyone's life. There is no doubt that the songs learned in childhood, from one's parents, relatives, and friends, exercise a strong influence on a person's later musical development, and these songs are almost inevitably genuine folk songs. This, if nothing else, justifies an interest in the nature of folk music and of one's own particular traditions.

II

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FOLK and PRIMITIVE MUSIC

In urban society, the listener takes little active part in music, for it is to him primarily a vehicle for aesthetic enjoyment, edification, and contemplation. But in folk and primitive cultures, music is almost always associated with an activity.¹ Integrated with active phases of life, it occupies a more prominent place in the community than does the music of Western urban civilization. It is true that in urban cultures, music may also be functional, whether it is religious music or dance music, a march or the accompaniment to drama; but the most significant musical creations in Western civilization are definitely "art for art's sake." In folklore, by contrast, the most important works of music are probably those which are especially closely tied to the culture and which therefore are the most accurate expressions of its nature and character.

There seems to be a considerable difference between primitive and folk cultures in the function of music. The folk cultures, after all, participate in some of the facets of urban cultures. Many folk songs are of city origin, and some are simultaneously art songs. In the degree to which it accompanies other activities, too, folk music occupies a kind of middle ground between the primitive and the cultivated, for primitive music does this most frequently, folk music somewhat less, but cultivated music only occasionally.

The most important single function of primitive music is a religious one and includes ceremonial material, corresponding roughly to our church services, as well as songs of magical and

charm significance. Most of the war songs of primitive peoples are not rallying or marching songs but are designed to solicit supernatural support in war. Many love songs are not personal, they do not usually address the loved one; they are not lyrical, but they seek supernatural aid in love. Gambling songs often ask divine guidance; and many dance songs, of course, also have religious significance, since dancing is the primary religious activity in many primitive cultures. This close relationship between music and religion in the world's simplest cultures stimulated the musicologist Siegfried Nadel² to formulate a theory that music must have begun as a special means for man to communicate with the supernatural.

Work songs are found in many primitive cultures, but not in the simplest of all. The theory of Bücher³ that music must have begun with the recognition that rhythmic work, accompanied by singing, is especially efficient, is probably not justified. The world's simplest cultures, those whose technology is presumably closest to that of early man, do not have rhythmic group work songs, and perhaps this is one reason for their very simplicity. Those primitive cultures which are closest to urban civilization, such as the Pueblo Indians and many African Negro tribes, have work songs, as do many folk cultures.

The amount of non-functional music tends to increase as we move from simple to complex primitive cultures. In Equatorial Africa, for example, xylophone playing as an entertainment for the customers at village markets is a general practice. In folk cultures, the amount of music for entertainment is much larger yet.

An important function of folk music, but one which is rare in primitive music, is the accompaniment to narration. Songs which tell stories are common in the folklore throughout Europe and America, and these have aroused a very lively interest among scholars. Narrative songs are often not of folk origin; in many cases they were composed by sophisticated urbanites and trickled down into folk tradition, where they became rooted and acquired the essentials of genuine folk songs. The two important types of narrative song are ballads, which are relatively short,

have a strophic form (divided into stanzas), and concentrate on a single event and its background; and epics, which are long, describe a series of events centering around a hero, and usually treat the individual line as the most important structural unit.

Many ballads and epics are based on historical events, and in some cases their function in the culture could be considered archival. But most members of folk cultures seem to consider them primarily as entertainment, and so it is possible to call this kind of folk music non-functional.

Some other functions of folk music are described specifically in Chapters V, VI, VII. There are dance songs, songs connected with special occupations, work songs, lyrical and love songs, religious and children's music. Although usually of city origin, hymns have become true folk songs in some areas, but elsewhere the members of folk cultures do not participate in religious folk music but sing only the hymns of the urban tradition. Related to hymns, however, are the calendric songs which are sung at various times of year and include such familiar types as Christmas carols and songs which are sung at specific times of the life-cycle, for instance at birth, at puberty, at marriage or death.

A measure of the function of music within a culture is the degree to which the members actually participate in it. In Western civilization music is a fairly specialized activity. There are a handful of composers and a few performers, who are usually professionals, and there are even specialized listeners (concert-goers and record-buyers). But in folk and primitive cultures this kind of specialization is much smaller, and professional musicians are almost absent. There are, to be sure, some individuals who concentrate on music, for example the shamans or priests, who often have the performance of certain music as a prerogative or duty. But there are at least some cultures in which composition is practiced by large segments of the population. Also, the members of a tribe or folk group participate equally in most of their music. All the people know most of the songs and are able to sing them, even though there are certain individuals in every group who are recognized as superior performers.

With a few important exceptions, a professional status for mu-

The compositions of folk and primitive music tend to be short, simple, and often very concise and concentrated. Length is usually achieved by verbatim repetition, and a great many of the compositions are strophic, that is, they are fairly short but are intended to be repeated a number of times. Often different words are sung with each repetition of the music. Generally speaking, everything in the music is equally important and basic. In most Western cultivated compositions we can distinguish themes, which are more important than the rest of the music because of their unique character and because other parts of the composition may be based on them. But in folk and primitive music, as well as many short forms in cultivated music, we cannot distinguish between themes and non-themes; for all of the material is equally thematic and primary. But of course this does not mean that the traditional music does not contain basic, germinal motifs which supply a sense of organization; these are certainly present. Indeed, compact and rigorous organization is a special feature of music in oral tradition.

Unity is created in ways also common in cultivated music; there is usually one main unifying element, an example of which is an isorhythmic pattern, a rhythmic formula which is repeated a number of times, each time with a different melody. Isorhythmic construction, which is found in many parts of the world, often breaks down near the end of a piece and is replaced by another common phenomenon, the tendency of units to lengthen and become drawn-out. (Example 28)

The melodic counterpart of isorhythmic patterning is the use of the same melodic phrase or line, each time at a different pitch level. This is called a melodic sequence, and it brings to a song a very strong kind of cohesion without resulting in monotony. Example 26 is made up entirely of a melodic sequence.

Simplicity itself may bring about unity. Thus, if a song is very complex and diversified melodically, a simple metric pattern may counteract the effect. A complex melody tends to be accompanied by a single, unchanging meter, and it may be a simple type such as 4/4, 3/4, or 6/8. (Example 1) on the other hand, a complex metric construction such as that in Example 31, which uses three

kinds of meter ($3/8$, $2/4$, $5/8$) within a short space of time, may be accompanied by a simple melody, such as that in Example 31, which uses only three pitches.

A melodic contour (the term used for indicating the general movement of pitch, its ascent, descent, and overall pattern) can sometimes be used as a unifying element. For example, the songs of the Plains Indians often consist of two sections which have the same sharply descending, cascading contour, but which differ in other respects. (Example 18)

The relationship among the various sections of a composition is often important in establishing unity and variety. We can classify the forms of folk and primitive music in various ways, but one simple method is to indicate the presence or absence of symmetry. Symmetrical forms are quite common, but certainly not in the majority. One example is a type which consists of three parts, the first and last being identical, as ABA. Another, common in several styles of European folk music, is ABBA. The song in Example 27 even preserves symmetry within the sub-sections, so that the letter-scheme ABA C ABA applies.

Asymmetric forms may be more interesting. They can be analyzed most easily in pieces which can be divided into two main parts, one of which outweighs the other in length, range, or otherwise. In some songs, the first part is short, and the same material is elaborated in the second. Some Plains Indian songs use this arrangement, probably because the meaningful words appear only in the second part. (Example 18) The opposite arrangement, a condensing process, is found in Example 30, where the total form is $AB^1B^2AB^2$. The first part, $A B^1 B^2$, is condensed to $A B^2$ by the elimination of B^1 .

The over-all forms of folk and primitive music can also be described by indicating the relationship between a section of music and the one which follows it. Given one section, or phrase, the music can then go on to new material, bringing about a progressive relationship; repeat the section, creating an iterative one; or repeat material stated earlier, making a reverting one.⁵ Although relatively few compositions fit exactly into any of these categories, one of these kinds of relationship is usually domi-

nant. Entire repertoires can be classified in this manner. For example, since most songs of the Indian tribes in the Great Basin area have forms in which each section is repeated, like AABB or AABBC, their style is basically iterative. Many Anglo-American songs have the form ABBA or AABA, so their style is reverting. But all three of the mentioned principles are strongly entrenched in traditional music.

General simplicity correlates with simplicity in form. The form type found in the simplest styles consists entirely of the repetition, with some variation, of a single short bit of music. And although a long piece is usually nothing but the manifold repetition of a short one, variations are often introduced with the effect of lessening the monotony.

The melodic aspects of folk and primitive music are perhaps what is most interesting and distinctive about them; and at any rate they have been studied most thoroughly and perhaps emphasized disproportionately. That there is a basic difference between traditional and cultivated melodic systems has already been said. It remains to discuss briefly the specific nature of folk and primitive melody. The scale of a piece of music is an enumeration of the pitches which are used and a statement of the relationship between them. Most examples of folk and primitive music do not use as many pitches as do the compositions of cultivated music. One of the most common kinds of scale uses only five tones, such as g, a, b, d, and e, and their duplications at other octaves. (Example 1) This kind of scale, called "pentatonic," is common in many styles throughout the world. The very simplest kinds of music have scales with only two or three tones, such as g and a, or e, g, and a. Not confined to the simplest of the world's tribes, these scales are also present in many children's songs, lullabies, and gambling songs in European folk music.

The use of unessential tones, or ornaments, is common in many styles of folk and primitive music. They appear between the more important notes, taking up no specific amount of time, and their inclusion is often optional for the performer. (Example 7)

The melodic contour also tends to be a characteristic of each area or ethnic group. Some styles have undulating contours, oth-

ers jagged ones; some have descending ones, others arc-shaped. Contours which only ascend are rare, possibly because of the difficulty of producing a rising melodic line with the human voice, for when a singer is exhaling, he finds descent much easier.

As already said, the rhythmic patterns of traditional music are often irregular, but nevertheless systematic. Meters change frequently, as in Example 31, or a song may consist of a pattern which, though repeated throughout the song, is in itself fairly complex. Meters such as $5/8$, $7/8$, $11/8$, and $13/8$ are found as well as the simpler types.

The rhythms and metric patterns in folk songs are often based on, or at least related to, the rhythm of the words. This is particularly true if the rhythmic aspects of the language are very pronounced. The rhythms of a musical style often reflect the characteristics of the language. In German, for instance, words often begin with unaccented syllables, and nouns are preceded by unstressed articles. In Czech, however, articles do not exist, and all words begin with stressed syllables. In some songs that have traveled across the German-Czech frontier we find the same traits: Czech variants often begin with stressed tones, and lack the so-called pick-up or up-beat, but German variants more commonly begin on the unaccented beats. We are not sure whether these musical traits originated along with those of the language because of some kind of aesthetic preference in the culture, or whether they are simply the result of tunes being set to specific words whose rhythm must be accommodated.⁶

The rhythmic structure of the text of a song seems to have other profound effects on the entire rhythmic structure of a musical style. For example, in most western European bodies of poetry the basic unit is the foot, which consists of one stressed syllable and one or two accompanying unstressed ones. We describe a line of poetry by indicating the type and number of feet. Thus, the foot arrangement in many of the Anglo-American ballads is iambic, 4,3,4,3. This rather regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables produces a fairly regular metric structure in the music. In most eastern European languages, however, metric feet do not exist in the poetry, and the basic unit is the syllable.

Rather than having feet whose numbers remain constant in a line, most eastern European poetry keeps the number of syllables constant. There are lines with seven, eight, eleven, and other numbers of syllables. The musical meter also tends to change even within the line, but there is more likelihood of a rhythmic unit, equivalent in length to a line of text, to be repeated with each line.

There is sometimes a close relationship between the melodic aspects and the words of a song. The most interesting examples of this come from the so-called tone languages, in which the pitch of each syllable, in relation to its environment, determines the actual meaning of the words. Such languages are common, and widespread, as proved by the fact that Chinese and many African and American Indian languages have tone systems. Songs in these languages must in some way account for the melodic aspect of the words. Even though the music does not always reflect the exact pitch pattern of the words, it usually does not violate it too flagrantly. And the drum and horn signals of many African tribes as well as the whistle-speech of several primitive cultures are based on playing the pitch-patterns of actual words. In order to understand this kind of signalling one must be able to recognize specific words simply from their speech melody.

Most polyphonic music in folk and primitive cultures is performed by more than one singer or instrumentalist; each plays or sings one "voice," and it is possible to describe the styles of polyphony in indicating the relationship among these voices. In many polyphonic styles the musical material in each voice is approximately the same. There may be simultaneous variation of the same music (heterophony), performance of the same music at different times (imitation), which often produces rounds, or at different pitch levels (parallelism). The distance in pitch between the voices in parallelism has a great influence on the total effect of the music. Parallelism is probably the most common kind of polyphony. Rounds (canons) are found in Negro Africa, Melanesia, and western Europe. Heterophony is especially common in many Asian styles. But to these three kinds of polyphony, in which the voices are approximately equal in importance, we

should add a fourth, counterpoint, in which the voices perform different musical material. Counterpoint is not as common, however, as those types in which the same music appears in all of the voices.

Polyphony in which one voice predominates is also found in three main forms: one voice performs a melody while the other holds a single tone, called a drone, as with bagpipes; one voice performs a melody of some elaboration while the other repeats a short bit many times, called an ostinato; and one voice is accompanied by an instrument which produces a harmonic background, as in folk singing with guitar accompaniment.

Most, but not quite all, folk and primitive cultures have some musical instruments, and a few have a great wealth of them. The most common instruments are percussive; rattles and drums, notched sticks, bullroarers and buzzers are almost universal in their distribution. The melodic instruments are often exceedingly simple. The ancestor of all string instruments is the musical bow, shaped simply like a hunting bow whose string is plucked or struck and whose changes in pitch are produced by shortening the string. Some Pygmy groups in Africa use pipes which produce only one pitch each; the melodies are produced by having each player blow his pipe when its pitch is called for. There are single-keyed xylophones which evidently preceded the instruments with many keys.

Other instruments may be compounds of the simple ones. Panpipes, for examples, are series of simple flutes, each of which produces only one pitch, but which are arranged together so that melodies can be produced. The xylophone is a compound percussion instrument, as are panpipes, and, in a way, so are instruments with many strings. Many folk and primitive instruments, rather than being simply compounds of the simplest ones, are complex and rival those of urban cultures in technical perfection and beauty of sound. The harps and horns of Africa, the bagpipes, flutes, fiddles and dulcimers of Europe, the panpipes and mouth organs of East Asia are examples of this vast world. And although there are only a few basic categories of instruments, their varieties and sub-types throughout the world are innumerable.

Instrumental folk music usually differs from songs in the essentials of its style, being at least partially constructed on the basis of the technical possibilities and limitations of the instrument, with each instrument commanding a style of its own. But this should not be construed to mean that instrumental music and song do not influence each other. Quite the contrary, some cultures imitate the sounds of instruments in their vocal music, and many songs are assimilated into the instrumental repertoires.



THE ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS of AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC

Folk music is often thought of as the expression of the spirit of a people, or a national or ethnic group, and in some ways this is certainly a valid definition. We know that a folk song, even though composed by a member of a given ethnic group, will not take hold in that group unless it conforms to the current aesthetic ideals. It may be rejected, or it may be accepted and then changed by the process of communal re-creation until it does conform. Consequently the material of an ethnic group tends to be fairly homogenous and to express in some ways the character of that people. And especially in Europe and other parts of the Old World, where most ethnic groups have had long, continuous residence in the same geographic area, is the folklore rooted in the soil and the history.

In America, the rather different situation makes it necessary to think of folk music in a different way. Again, however, the folk music reflects the culture at large. The United States is a new country, consisting largely of English cultural traits which were modified to suit the specific requirements of America. Added to it were elements from many European countries, to greater or lesser degrees, and an important layer of African Negro culture. Underneath it all, relatively uninfluential but significant in certain isolated situations, is the culture of the American Indians. In recent decades, however, a merging of these diverse elements has taken place, creating a greater degree of unity. The ethnic composition of the United States has also changed because the

proportion of immigrants from various European countries has changed periodically. In the middle of the nineteenth century a heavy influx of Germans gave a special color to the material; this was altered as many immigrants from Ireland, Italy, and eastern Europe followed. After the arrival of these groups, their continued flux from one region to another, the rapid urbanization of some districts and the isolation of others, as well as the phenomenon of the frontier, shaped the American civilization in certain characteristic ways.

We must remember that the United States has always been composed of combinations of ethnic groups, a situation which also occurs in European countries but in ways different from ours. In Europe, if several ethnic groups inhabit a nation, they are usually relatively isolated from each other. In Czechoslovakia, for example, the Czech- and German speaking inhabitants had little mutual contact, except among the intellectuals. Even in Switzerland, the German, French, and Italian groups have their own traditions and partake only to a small extent of a common folklore. In the United States, however, the various ethnic groups have tended to mix. There was no long tradition of cultural integrity in America, and practical considerations favored their becoming at least partially incorporated in the Anglo-American community. The German-American individual takes part in the traditions of both Germany and America, the Ukrainian-American in those of his homeland and the United States. There are, to be sure, a few enclaves of Europeans who preserve their old culture almost intact. But the majority of ethnic groups in America participate in a combination of traditions. Thus the Czech-American folklore is quite different from the original Czech, in content, form, and function; and the French-American contrasts with that of France.

Almost all bodies of folklore in the world are represented in America, but in making the transition, they sometimes lose their original functions. Thus, harvesting songs from Yugoslavia are not used for harvest here because the Yugoslavs in America are rarely farmers, and paddling songs in an African style are at times used simply for entertainment, as are Italian horse and

mule calls. This change of function may change the character of the music and have a profound effect on its very existence.

The fact that the United States is largely an urban country also causes special problems for those dealing with its folk music. In most European countries, especially those of the eastern, central, and southern portions, the difference between urban and rural populations is considerable. But in the United States even the rural inhabitants share many of the urban culture elements, such as radio and television, newspapers and nationally circulated magazines, machinery, mechanical devices, and motion pictures. In contrast to most of Europe, the American rural population is quite mobile. People travel in automobiles much more than in Europe, and the migration between farm and city is steady and strong. There are relatively few individuals who have never lived in a city. Consequently we cannot, in this country, consider a rural environment as the chief feature of folk music, something which was often done by European students of folklore. American folk music lives at least partially in urban areas, and, in some cases, even in large cities, especially where European peasant groups have settled in industrial cities and have kept part of their heritage.

The concepts of nationality and national spirit, ethnic and cultural groups, social classes, and the rural and urban aspects of folklore show that American folk music is in many ways a very different phenomenon from its European counterpart, and that, from the point of view of some persons oriented towards European folklore, the American material is not folklore at all. Instead of taking such a point of view, however, let us simply say that these differences between American and European folk music are largely due to the different historical developments and contrasting cultural composition of the two hemispheres, and that both continents have a heritage which can be considered genuinely within the scope of folklore.

Besides indicating the basic differences between American and Old World folk music we must emphasize their common features. The United States is fertile soil for studying European folklore, and European folk song collectors have often come to America

in order to round out the knowledge of their native traditions. They often find that America has preserved a great deal of European folklore which has disappeared in its original home. Early in the twentieth century (first in 1916) Cecil J. Sharp, a noted English folk song scholar, heard that the old English and Scottish ballads were still being sung in the United States. His resulting field trip to the mountain areas of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky showed that the number of variants of these ballads current among the folk far exceeded that of present-day Britain; and he discovered some songs which had died out in British folk tradition.

Chapter VI describes the Amish, a Swiss-German farmer group of Protestants related to the Mennonites, who sing hymns in a style very different from anything else in American or European folklore, a style which seems to be distantly related to sixteenth and seventeenth century German cultivated music. This practice must have existed at one time in European folklore, but evidently it disappeared under the impact of urbanization. The survival of culture traits at the fringes of German or British culture, as indicated here, is explained by the theory of *marginal survivals*, which recognizes the fact that a trait often disappears in the original center of its geographic distribution (Germany and Switzerland, for example) but can survive and even flourish much longer in the outskirts or margins of that area, for example, among German-Americans. This theory helps to account for the great wealth of European folk music in America, a wealth which also makes it possible, at least in some ways, to study at first-hand the folk songs of most Old World cultures without leaving the United States.

IV

INDIAN MUSIC of the UNITED STATES

When the white man first came to the area which is now the United States, it was inhabited by fewer than one million Indians, who were organized in several hundred tribes of various sizes and languages. What we know about their culture and music five hundred and more years ago comes largely from investigating their life during the last hundred years, from the diaries and reports of early white travelers and missionaries, and from the artificial reconstruction of early conditions. Most scholars are pretty well agreed on the role of music in the aboriginal life of the Indians, and enough actual music remains in the Indian repertories today to give at least a fairly accurate indication of its scope and style before the discovery of America. Thus we are interested in two phases of Indian music, the aboriginal one, before contact between Indians and whites, and the acculturational one, including those very interesting developments in Indian music which occurred recently under the impact and influence of Western civilization.

Music was very important in the lives of the Indians, much more so than in the lives of sophisticated Westerners. The reason for this may be the mystical qualities with which the Indians believed music was endowed, their relative paucity of material culture, and the importance of dance. At any rate, in this respect their music closely parallels that of most of the other primitive societies in the world.

Religion is the aspect of Indian culture to which music was

most closely tied in the pre-contact period. Music dominated all of the Indians' ceremonial life. They used music for ceremonial dancing; they had songs for worship, corresponding somewhat to our hymns; for war ceremonies, which tried to gain supernatural aid for victory; for healing ceremonies, in which songs were used as magic; for love-charms and for many other functions. Next in importance was music for social purposes: social dancing, songs to be sung before and during battle, songs sung in connection with athletic contests and gambling games, songs which were sung in folk tales. (Entire tales were sometimes sung in the Great Basin area of Utah and Nevada.) And, of course, there were children's songs, lullabies, and, occasionally, work songs. Though each tribe did not have all of these functions for music, it did have most of them. Almost all of this Indian music was sung; there was exceedingly little purely instrumental music.

Just as the cultures of the various tribes and sub-tribes were different, the music differed also. There were areas in which music was very complex and highly developed and areas where it was exceedingly simple. Each area had a distinct musical style. But in no case can Indian music be considered primitive in an historical sense. Uninformed sources sometimes equate the culture of pre-literate cultures with those of early man. It is probable that we can learn a great deal about early man from contemporary primitive cultures, and the same applies to music. But this does not mean that primitive music, including American Indian music, has not changed immeasurably since its beginning, and that it did not undergo processes of change and development like those of cultivated music. Neither is it so simple as to warrant comparison with infantile creations.

We tend to think of the songs of the Indians as having been passed from singer to singer through many generations. But we rarely think about the way these songs actually originated, and we certainly don't visualize Indians as composers. However, the songs had to come from somewhere, and indeed they were created by Indian composers; but these composers didn't work or think quite like the masters of Western composition. We know pitifully little about the methods and processes of Indian, or any

other primitive, composers, and probably tribal and regional differences are considerable. But there are at least two methods of composition in Indian life, and they correspond roughly to two important approaches among Western musicians.

Modern composers in Western civilization tend to fall into two main classes. Some consider the creative process something directly connected with the supernatural, with themselves merely the specially endowed mouthpiece, and with little direct responsibility for the shape and structure of the music. Others consider composition a craft, related to skilled labor or scientific thinking. One group believes in inspiration, the other in the mechanical accumulation of techniques. Among the Arapaho Indians of Wyoming and Colorado, I have found two analogous approaches to composition. One is intimately connected with religion; in fact, the Indian composer gets no credit for his work. It is a part of the "vision quest," one of the important religious practices of the Indians of the Great Plains and some other areas of North America.

Among the Arapaho most men are expected at some time in their lives to have a "vision." The following account of a vision is typical.¹

A young man goes out into the wilderness, seeking a vision. He eats and drinks nothing and perhaps tortures himself in other ways. Finally, on the fourth day, the vision arrives. He faints and then sees and hears the following: a voice singing a song in the sky: "Man, look up here; it is I up here in the sky; I am the bird." At this point the visionary sees a large bird flying towards him singing the song. It lights and begins to speak to him, giving him advice about his conduct on his next war party. Then the bird says: "When you return to your people, teach them these four songs which I am going to sing to you." The songs follow, and the bird leaves. The young man returns to his band, meanwhile rehearsing and singing the songs which the bird sang to him. When he returns, he sings the songs for his associates, and, indeed, they are new songs.

From the Indian's point of view, the songs were a gift from the supernatural, the visionary's guardian spirit in this case. From

a cynical point of view, we can assume that the young man composed the songs himself; yet he did not do so consciously. Indeed, we know of cases of Indians seeking visions unsuccessfully and falsely trying to make up songs, but Indians make a great distinction between these and honest visions. It may be that in the vision the young Indian was struck by some musical (and perhaps poetic) ideas and that he worked these out in detail while "rehearsing" on the way home. It should be mentioned that in some cases, "new" songs mean old melodies with new words. But often new melodies are learned in visions.

What does this tell us about Arapaho composers? First, there are no specialists in composition, although there may occasionally be some persons who are recognized for their excellence in this field. Second, a large proportion of the men, perhaps most, participate in musical composition at some point in their lives. Each man does not compose regularly or in great quantity, but many compose the few songs which they believe they have learned in visions.

Whereas this general approach to composition in primitive culture has been well known for some time, a more systematic and rational one has only recently come to light. Our example is again from the Arapaho tribe and is concerned specifically with the creation of the songs of the Peyote cult. This religion has come to the Indians of the United States only during the last two centuries; its music is nevertheless purely Indian, evidently without Western influence, but it is distinct in style from other Indian music. My Arapaho informant told me of two main ways of composing Peyote songs.² One is to take various sections of a number of old Peyote songs, join them together and perhaps add some original material, and end with the traditional formula which closes all Peyote songs. This method is eclectic and makes use of new combinations of material already in existence.

The other way of composing Peyote songs also makes use of old material. It is dependent on the fact that a great many Peyote songs are constructed in isorhythmic fashion, in which a rhythmic pattern is repeated several times, each time with a different melody. The composer of a new song sometimes takes an old one

and adds to each section a bit of material, identical in each case, thus keeping the isorhythmic structure and the over-all form but creating a slightly different and more complex song. While we might think of these new songs merely as variants of the old, the Indians evidently think of them as separate creations.

Perhaps a word should be said about improvisation of music as a method of composing, that is, creating on the spur of the moment during performance. Some persons believe that the word "primitive" somehow implies spontaneous or unorganized creation. They consider the music of primitive cultures basically different from cultivated music because, they think, it adheres to no structural principles but is some kind of spontaneous outpouring of soul and culture. This is a generalization we cannot subscribe to, although a certain amount of spontaneity cannot be denied to any music in oral tradition. Some Indian and other primitive music is improvised, but this is true only under a few special conditions. There are certain structural principles in every Indian musical style, and a given composition retains its structure throughout many performances in spite of the fact that it is never committed to any permanent record.

Some evidence of the integrity and structural stability of most Indian music is given by the degree to which songs are rehearsed, and by the assertion of the Indians themselves to the effect that mistakes in singing are not tolerated. Systematic rehearsing of songs is found especially among the Indians of the Northwest Coast, Washington and British Columbia.³ Here mistakes in songs are punished, and accuracy in performance is at a premium. Elsewhere, also, we hear of individuals practicing songs for specific performances. Since music is often assumed to have supernatural power, errors in performance obviously cannot be tolerated in certain rituals. Among the Navaho, for example, music is the main portion of some healing rituals which last several days. Theoretically, any error in the performance invalidates the ceremony and makes recovery impossible.⁴ Of course, if the ritual fails to cure the patient, the failure can be blamed on errors in performance. Naturally some errors are unavoidable, and they sometimes result in permanent changes in the songs; no doubt

many are due to the lack of a permanent written record against which one can check a performance. The errors are part of the process of communal re-creation, which is common to all music in oral tradition. However, such changes are only occasional and very gradual, and they do not alter the basic fact that Indian music exists in stable forms and not simply as a spontaneous torrent of emotion which could hardly be called art. Already the fact that the music can be notated (with some difficulties, to be sure) in the conventional Western system of notation is evidence favoring this view, and all conversation with Indian informants on the subject of music points in the same direction. The Indians that I have known have always referred to music as "songs," never as "music" or "singing" in the abstract.

According to George Herzog, Indians rarely speak (or think) of songs as "beautiful." Rather they tend to consider them as "good" or "powerful." This reflects the functional nature of Indian music, the fact that it is rarely, if ever, music for its own sake, but almost always an essential aid for other aspects of their culture. Herzog says that "good and beautiful may merge, and be expressed by the same word. This is the case with many tribes of the Southwest: the Pueblo, Navaho, Pima. The term is applied in many cases where 'good' or 'beautiful' alone would be meaningless; where undoubtedly the feeling for the ritualistically good and aesthetically pleasing is one and the same."⁵

What do Indians sing about? Paradoxically, many of the songs do not have meaningful texts. These songs do not have words but groups of meaningless syllables. Such syllables correspond roughly to the "la la la" found in many Western songs, but they are more complex and varied and, again, are not improvised but form an integral and fixed part of the song. Often they bear a close relationship to the rhythm and other musical features of the song.

But many of the songs do have meaningful texts, which, in many songs, do not take up the entire stanza. In such songs, the meaningless syllables tend to point out and emphasize the meaningful words. Although these texts can be considered poetry, usually they do not have the distinguishing marks which we ex-

pect of poetry in our culture. The texts are not divided into feet, lines, or stanzas. They do not have meter or rhyme. They appear very much like prose to us.

A typical song of the Plains Indians begins with a long sequence of meaningless syllables. The music to which they have been sung is then repeated, slightly altered, with the entire meaningful text and a few meaningless syllables to fill it out. This may take somewhat less than a minute, and since the song tends to be repeated about four times, the entire rendition is likely to take between two and four minutes. Many of the songs deal with exploits in war, and the heroes sing about their own adventures. The first portion of the song is sung by the entire group or audience; the second part, with the meaningful text, is frequently sung by a single performer who tells about his exploits in texts like the following:

"The Ute Indian, while he was still looking around for me, I swung him around."

Many Indian songs of the Great Plains had their texts changed periodically in order to conform with current events and interests. The song about the Ute Indian (sung by the Arapaho) was changed by Indians who fought in the first World War to deal with a German soldier. A similar change must have produced the following text:

"The German soldier fled and dragged his blanket behind."⁶ In order to give the reader a better idea of the Indian song texts, I quote a number without detailed comment. The following are Arapaho war songs:

Soldier, have courage.
Our flag has become famous.

My relatives, gaze at our flag;
it is waving in the skies.

The following are Arapaho vision songs:

The star-child is here.
It is through him that
our people are living.

Almighty, look down on me, have pity on me.

I am the crow. Watch me.

Young man, be brave.
You are going to a dangerous place.
Your chieftainship will become famous.

Young man, it is good that you are going to war.

Birds, up there in the heavens, come down, have pity on us.

The following texts are from the Blackfoot Indians of Montana. Their culture is quite similar to that of the Arapaho, and so are text and musical structure.

Woman, don't worry about me.
I'm coming back home to eat berries.

This is sung by men going on a war party.

White Dog [name of a Sioux chief],
stay away from this tribe.
You will cry when they scalp you.

The Indians of the Northwest Coast have more elaborate texts and fewer meaningless syllables. There is a considerable difference in subject matter and the way it is presented, when compared to the Plains songs. Frances Densmore recorded the following Nootka songs:

Who is my equal or can compare with me?
I have forty whales on my beach.⁷

Do not think for a moment that you can defeat us,
for we have slaves from all other tribes,
even from the coast tribes to the north.⁸

These songs are part of the Northwest Coast complex of institutionalized boasting and threatening, a part of this highly com-

petitive culture which has been presented to the general reader by Ruth Benedict.⁹ The differences between Plains and Northwest Coast texts are also reflected in the music. While the Plains songs are sung in a relatively objective manner, all songs using roughly the same vocal style and having little emphasis on the words, the Northwest Coast songs are sung more expressively and boldly. Of course all the differences between these musical styles cannot be ascribed simply to general differences in outlook.

The Indians of the Southwest tend to have longer and more elaborate song texts, sometimes divided into lines, and more closely resembling Western types of poetry. Herzog gives the following texts from the Pima:

Dragonfly got drunk
Clasped hands with gigikukl bird
Swaying they lurched along,
Dragonfly untangled the songs (i.e.,
sang for the first time the songs he dreamt).¹⁰
Where is the mountain?
Yonder far away rises the mirage
The dust raised by me rolls toward it
Many people's yelling, between them I am moving.¹¹

Many Indian tribes played gambling games, usually by hiding small objects, which were accompanied by songs. The team which was hiding an object sang songs whose texts mocked or ridiculed the opposing team, enabling the hiders to keep a poker face and thus avoided giving away the hiding place, and sometimes invoked supernatural aid for victory. Herzog quotes the following texts of gambling songs from the Navaho:

Where is it going to be hidden (six times)
Big turkey
His wattle goes up and down.¹²
The moccasins are laid out in a row (six times).
It is going to be at the same place as before.¹³

This song refers to the fact that in the game a bullet is hidden in one of a row of moccasins. The song is evidently sung after the opposing team has made several unsuccessful attempts to find it.

Let us briefly turn to the structure of some of the meaningless-syllable texts. These, although they do not communicate anything specific, nevertheless leave an impression of rhythm and form which causes them to be remembered by the Western listener. They sometimes have about them a quality of rigidity and firmness as well as euphony which makes them an essential part of Indian poetry; and perhaps they correspond to Western poetry more closely than do the meaningful Indian texts. Because of their sensuous quality they can be enjoyed on an abstract level similar to that of music. I quote an example of a Shawnee Peyote song text:

He ne ne yo yo (five times)
He ya ne, he yo ea he ya ne (twice)
Yo ho ho, yo ho ho, he ya na
He yo wa ne hi ya na, he ne yo we.

The patterns and rhythms of this text correspond rather closely to the patterns of the melody. Peyote songs, as I have already said, are new to most North American Indians, and their music as well as their syllable sequences differ from those of other Indian songs. Most Peyote songs make use of syllables and groups of syllables similar to those in the text above, and certain characteristic meaningless "words" are found in many songs.¹⁴ Among these are "he ya na," "yo wi ci ni," "he yo wi ci na yo." Most other Indian songs have their meaningless syllables restricted to the consonants y, w, h, and n plus a vowel. Still, there are always patterns which recur and, most interesting of all, the syllables remain the same from one performance to the next. Thus they must be considered essential parts of the poetry in spite of their lack of meaning.

Questions of text lead us to ask whether the music of Indian songs expresses anything of the subject matter, feelings, or emo-

tions in the words. While this is a hard question to answer because informants do not ordinarily verbalize on the subject and, indeed, seem to believe it is irrelevant, it can be said that musical representation of a text does not ordinarily take place, and only a few isolated, even questionable, examples can be found. The closest thing to tone-painting yet found is the imitation of bird or animal calls in the songs. Sometimes these calls precede or follow a song, without forming a structural part of the music; these calls cannot be considered here. But occasionally the animal or bird call is obviously integrated into the song, fitting into the structure of its melody and rhythm. This is the case in a Shawnee song about the turkey, in which the last syllables, "tak tak tak," are said to be imitative of the call of the turkey.¹⁵

The influence of pitch patterns in language over those in music is relevant at this point. A number of Indian languages of the United States are tone languages. In an excellent study of the Navaho, Herzog¹⁶ indicates that sometimes the pitch movement in the language influences the music while at other times the musical currents contravene the language. Of course it is theoretically possible for the words in a song to be misunderstood because their tone sequence is not paralleled by the music, but this rarely happens because the words are usually understood in their context. Arapaho is also a tone language, with two tones; and I have reported and described elsewhere results similar to those found for the Navaho.¹⁷

Most North American Indian instruments are of the percussion type: drums, rattles, notched sticks. There are some flutes, usually end-blown, like whistles and recorders. They are used to perform love songs which may be sung as well as played, so there is no special instrumental repertory. Practically all Indian music is strictly melodic (monophonic). There is no part-singing except in a few spots where local developments have taken place. There is no accompaniment except for the percussion, and only one pitch is heard at one time. Most Indian songs use a system of pitches which is more restricted than that of Western civilization and which is not too different from that of the other folk songs in America. But often the Indian pitches do not coincide

with those of Western cultivated music, and thus it is not always possible to reproduce Indian songs on instruments like the piano. Most Indian singing would sound somewhat out-of-tune to unsympathetic Western ears.

Despite the small number of Indians in the United States, the number of different musical styles is large. The Indians of the Plains sing in a tense, harsh, raucous way, and their melodies cascade down a series of terraces or steps, rarely moving upwards. Their music sounds wild. The stressed tones are accented violently, and on the long notes the singers continue the rhythmic pulsations so that the music never comes to a rest. The melodies have large ranges with the singers beginning high, sometimes in a falsetto voice, and descending to a growling depth. Examples 18 and 23 represent the Plains style.

Some of the tribes of the Southwest, especially the Yumans of southern Arizona and California, have a different style. Their songs are relaxed; they give an impression of tight organization and rationality. This statement, however, should be interpreted not as an objective description but as an impressionistic expression of the subjective reactions of a person of Western culture. The Plains songs are probably no wilder, in a real sense, than those of the Yumans; but we can judiciously use the term to describe the music in a communicative way. The Yuman songs have small ranges, fairly simple rhythms, and an even flow. In contrast to them, again, the songs of the Southwestern Pueblos are complicated, consisting of several distinct portions, and often they are sung in a low, growling voice.

The songs of the Northwest Coast have considerable rhythmic complexity; the singer may perform rhythmic patterns quite different from those of the drum or rattle accompaniment, something rarely found elsewhere in the United States. The Northwest Coast has a wealth of instruments and some part-singing, an unusual phenomenon among Indians. The desert tribes of Nevada and Utah, on the other hand, have a very simple kind of music. A distinctive feature is the repetition of each phrase so that everything appears twice. (Example 20 is in this style, even though it is from the Dakotas.) In eastern United States, one char-

acteristic feature is the call-and-response pattern, performed by a leader and a chorus, in the social dance-songs. There are many other regional peculiarities; the picture as a whole evokes amazement at the creative genius of a people so small in number and with so simple a culture.

Just as there were areas in aboriginal North America which were characterized by a certain kind of culture, there were musical areas.¹⁸ And these tend to coincide fairly well with the cultural ones, a fact which again demonstrates the close relationship between music and other activities of Indian life. We find also that in those areas in which the culture was especially complex, such as the Pueblos, the Northwest Coast, and the Gulf of Mexico, there also developed a more complex and varied musical style, and the invention of new stylistic elements, such as part-singing, rounds, and melodies of special length, occurred in these areas of complexity.

The coming of the white man had a considerable effect on the music of the Indians, just as it influenced all aspects of their culture. The whites brought on the second stage of American Indian music history, the acculturational one. It might be expected that a mixture of styles, partly European and partly Indian, would have developed in Indian music as it occurred in some parts of Africa. However, the differences between the European and Indian styles were evidently so great that in only a few isolated instances was such a mixture achieved. Indians today participate in two bodies of music, their old heritage and the white man's, but the two are not mixed to any great extent. The English language has made inroads; today, many songs in the old Indian musical styles have English words, such as the Blackfoot song in Example 23: "If you wait for me after the dance is over, I will take you home in my purchased wagon."

The white influence has made itself felt primarily by causing the Indians to unite, to lay down some of their tribal differences and to present a single cultural front to contrast with Western civilization. This was not done systematically and with political purposes. It is partially a result of the rapid and widespread migrations of many Indian tribes under white pressure, and of the

forced amalgamation of tribes on special land reserved for Indians. Tribes who previously had had no contact with each other were now thrown together, and cultural interchange became inevitable.

One aspect of this pan-Indianism in music is the spread of two important religious cults through a large part of the United States. These cults made use of songs which penetrated the repertoires of the tribes who took up the cults. One of them was the Ghost Dance religion, which arose after 1880 in the Great Basin area of Nevada and California. It was preached by a "prophet," Jack Wilson and held that if the Ghost Dance were performed, all dead Indians and buffalo would return to life and the white men would be pushed into the sea. Such ideas appealed especially to the Plains Indians, who were having great difficulties because their native food supply, the buffalo, was being eliminated by the whites. The religion was preached to them and they accepted it enthusiastically, learning with it the songs and the style, which had come from Nevada. These songs were quite different from those of the Plains, as we have seen in the descriptions of some styles above. The Ghost Dance was thought to be a military menace by the United States Army, and it was outlawed in 1890. But the songs have remained in the repertoires of the Plains tribes, and thus we have at least two styles in each of them, the aboriginal one and the native style of the Great Basin.

Another style was soon to be added to these, that of the Peyote cult songs. The Peyote religion, based on the mildly intoxicating buttons of the Peyote cactus, originated in Mexico and reached the United States early in the eighteenth century. It was introduced to the Plains tribes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by way of the Apache, and its songs are related in a general way to the style of Apache music, which is again quite different from that of the Plains. Peyote spread much farther than the Ghost Dance, and it is the most important religious manifestation of the Indians today. The white influence, then, has tended to cause individual tribal styles to spread over vast territories and to create a variety of musical layers in these tribal rep-

ertories, which would otherwise have remained unified.

Another aspect of pan-Indianism in music is based on the prevalent idea of the character of Indian music held by the whites. Whites believe that Indian songs are wild-sounding, cascading, violently accentuated melodies, and indeed, this idea corresponds to the Plains and Pueblo styles. Since many Indians are dependent on tourists for a living, many of them have learned this style even though they live elsewhere. Consequently the Plains style has been replacing some native styles in other areas.

Although in some ways we tend to deplore the changes which have come about in Indian music through the influence of the whites, we must realize that this is only natural and inevitable. On the other hand, we must admire the resilience and flexibility of Indian culture, which has fashioned out of the white influence a kind of music which, although different from the older styles, is nevertheless a genuinely Indian contribution and a living force in the folk music of the United States.

V

THE BRITISH TRADITION

The oldest and fullest folk music tradition of the white Americans came from Great Britain. Many of the American songs came from England and Scotland, and upon them was superimposed a native body of folk song, created in America in the British pattern but endowed with many of the special qualities of American culture and personality.

Ballads are perhaps the most important songs within the British tradition. Today they are found primarily in the East and the South, especially in the relatively isolated mountain areas of New England and the Appalachians. Contrary to popular belief, however, the number of ballads current in the North is greater than that in the South. A great many English ballads were brought verbatim from the Old World, but since numerous variants were developed here, even more than in England in the case of some songs, British ballad scholars consider the United States very fertile ground for their studies.

Many of the ballads brought from England go back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is unlikely that all of these were composed by members of folk groups, for their words as well as their music often show the impact of cultivated song. Nevertheless, these ballads passed into folk tradition even if they did not originate there, and they soon acquired the genuine characteristics of folklore so that today we think of them as typifying the field of folk music.

The words and the music of the English ballads are equally

interesting. By definition, a ballad is a narrative song with from five to twenty or more stanzas. Various kinds of poetic meter occur, but the most common kind, ballad meter, is an iambic stanza of four lines, alternating lines of four and three feet. The following stanza from "Sir Hugh" is typical:¹

As I walked out one holiday
Some drops of rain did fall.
And all the scholars in that school
Were out a-playing ball.

Many ballads have refrains, some of which have little to do with the rest of the story, such as the refrain in "The Two Sisters":

There lived an old lord in the North country
(Refrain) Bow down, bow down.
There lived an old lord in the North country
(Refrain) Bow down to me.
There lived an old lord in the North country
And he had daughters one, two, three.
(Refrain) I'll be true to my love if my love will be true to me.

It is possible that ballads once served as accompaniment to dancing, as they still do in parts of Scandinavia and particularly in the Faroe Islands. If so, the refrain of "The Two Sisters" is perhaps a remnant of that practice; and "bow down" could be explained as referring to dance.

The stories of the ballads are often tragic, the most famous ones dealing with murder and death; but there are comic and even humorous ones, too. Examples of tragic ballads are "Barbara Allen," the most widespread in America, and "Lord Thomas and Fair Elinor," in which a young man marries a rich girl instead of his sweetheart. He invites his sweetheart to his wedding, but she insults the bride, who kills her, whereupon the groom kills both the bride and himself. In "The Two Sisters," a girl drowns her sister because of jealousy over a suitor. In "Edwin in the Lowlands," a tavern-keeper murders a guest for his money; but the victim turns out to be his prospective son-in-law. In "The Golden Vanity," the cabin-boy of a ship sinks an enemy vessel

by swimming under it and boring holes in the hull. His captain, who has offered him great rewards in advance, now refuses to let him come aboard again, and the cabin-boy drowns. In some versions, however, the cabin-boy is allowed to return on board and then marries the captain's daughter despite parental objections. In "The Cruel Ship's Carpenter," also known in America as "Pretty Polly," a man murders his fiancée as they are out for a stroll and puts her in a grave which he has already prepared.

Sometimes the differences between the English and the American versions are considerable and reflect some essential traits of the two cultures. In the British version of "The House Carpenter," a man leaves his fiancée to go to sea, and drowns. His ghost returns years later and persuades the girl, who by now has married a house carpenter, to leave her husband and child and elope with him. At sea, when she begins to weep for her child, the demon in anger destroys the ship. But in most American versions, the supernatural elements are eliminated: the man simply returns from sea, finds his fiancée married, persuades her to go with him, and their ship sinks from ordinary causes. In "Sir Hugh," the basis of the plot is a medieval superstition dealing with the alleged killing of gentile children by Jews. A small boy is enticed into the Jew's garden and is murdered by the Jew's daughter. It is interesting that this superstition has disappeared in some versions, evidently because it meant nothing to the singers and listeners, and the Jew's daughter became the "duke's daughter."

Many British ballads also have happy endings. Lord Bateman, for instance, is rescued from prison by a Turkish lady, who finds him seven years later and marries him. In "The Gypsy Laddie," a woman leaves her aristocrat husband and elopes with a gypsy. The husband tries to persuade her to return, but she is adamant and presumably finds happiness in her new life. I suppose it is a matter of opinion whether this ballad is comic or tragic, depending on whose side one takes.

There are also some genuine humorous British ballads. In "The Wife Wrapped in Wether's Skin," a man who does not want to beat his shrewish wife finds a solution by putting his sheep skin on her and beating that. In "The Farmer's Curst Wife," the wife

is fetched by the devil and taken to hell, but she is so difficult to handle that the devil returns her to her husband.

The stories — especially those of the oldest ballads — are told in an unique way. The narrator ordinarily takes no part in them, telling them with no signs of emotion, but remaining objective and detached, and in his singing not differentiating between a stanza which gives routine background and another which contains the dramatic climax. The musical aspects of the performance are equally austere and calm; they do not portray the dramatic and emotional impact of the stories. This might be considered detrimental to the total effect of the ballad, but in fact it seems to improve the performance, for the contrast between the dramatic tension in the plot and the quiet, detached delivery is in itself effective and helps to make the old folk ballads unique artistic phenomena.

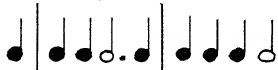
The language of the ballads is a peculiar mixture of American colloquial speech and old English literary conventions. Along with such seventeenth century poetic expressions as "lily-white hand" and "milk-white steed," we find Americanisms like "Stay here you dear little babe and keep your pa company." ("House Carpenter").

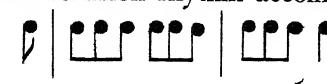
The music of the older English ballads is in a style which seems to go back to the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. It has much in common with the folk music of other areas in Europe. Most of the tunes do not make use of the seven-tone scale, as do those of eighteenth and nineteenth century origin, but are restricted to five or six tones. Many of the tunes are modal; that is, they do not fit into the major and minor scales to which we are accustomed, and hence sometimes sound incomplete to our ears. The Mixolydian and Dorian modes are the most prominent after the major (Ionian) and the natural minor (Aeolian). In many of the tunes the melody rises to a peak about the middle and then descends slowly to its original level.

The rhythm of the ballads is largely dependent on that of the words. A line with four iambic feet may be set to a musical rhythm like the following, with all of the notes approximately

the same length:  Sometimes, however, the

second and fourth stressed syllables, which occupy final and semi-final positions in the line, may have their accompanying notes

lengthened as follows:  Examples 2a and

2b also illustrate this point. A third common rhythm accommodates songs whose words are cast in dactylic meters. 

Some singers of old English ballads in America use a highly ornate and embellished style of singing, which is evidently more common among men in the North, and predominates among older persons. The ornaments occur mostly on stressed or long tones, as in Example 7. They consist of short, rhythmically insignificant tones, and correspond to the "grace notes" of cultivated music. But they are an essential part of the slow, declamatory way of singing which America shares with several European folk music styles and which is called the "parlando-rubato" style.² Resulting in part from the tension on the vocal chords which some folk singers produce consciously or unconsciously, this parlando-rubato style is definitely a part of the older ballad style since it occurs in that body of song frequently but only rarely in newer material, even when both are sung by the same singer.

In the United States most ballad singing is unaccompanied. The use of instruments is not nearly so common as is generally supposed, but some accompaniment does exist in genuine folk cultures. In some regions, indeed, accompaniment is taken for granted — in some parts of Kentucky, for example, while in others, such as the neighboring southern Indiana, it is quite rare.

The most common instruments in the United States are, of course, the guitar, the banjo, and the dulcimer. Fiddles are used for solo playing, and other plucked string instruments, such as the mandolin, are frequently found. Since they are shared with urban culture, most of these instruments are well known. The dulcimer is perhaps the only one which has not penetrated cultivated music to any extent. It appears in various forms, but its simplest and most characteristic shape is that of an elongated, thin violin which lies on the player's lap or on a table while its strings are plucked

with a quill. There are usually three strings, the lower two providing a drone whose pitch never changes, but the highest string has frets under it similar to those of a guitar, and it carries the melody. Like most instruments, dulcimers are not standardized, for the instruments of folk culture behave like other kinds of folklore. Instrument making is governed by oral tradition and communal re-creation, and there are many variants of each basic type. Consequently, some dulcimers have string arrangements and shapes quite different from the one described here. The dulcimer is also found in northern and western Europe and it may have been brought to America from Scandinavia or Germany. Its somewhat artificial revival in America is paralleled in European schools and music clubs.

The drone principle, or accompaniment on the dulcimer, is quite important in American folk singing. When accompanied at all, most of the old ballads are set to a very simple arrangement of chords, often just a single chord, the tonic, predominating almost to the exclusion of any harmonic change. On the dulcimer this is inevitable, but it is also the practice on the guitar and the banjo. Even on the fiddle, open strings are often played along with the melody, producing an effect similar to that of the drone.

Many of the old English ballads were composed by professional song writers, printed on large sheets called broadsides, and peddled in the streets. These so-called broadside ballads often dealt with current events and news, and many passed into oral tradition. The early ballad scholars declined to include them with what they considered genuine ballads, which presumably had a popular origin. Thus an American scholar, Francis James Child, placed the British non-broadside material in a special category and gave each ballad a number.³ Thus today, although the title for a ballad is not always fixed ("James Harris," "The Deamon Lover," and "The House Carpenter" are all variants of the same ballad.), it can always be identified by the number given by Child (243 for "The House Carpenter," 86 for "Barbara Allen," and so on). But the importance of the broadsides, often underrated in the past, is perhaps greater than that of the popular ballads, and this applies to America as well as Britain.

Well over two hundred broadside ballads of British origin are in circulation in the United States. About half of them deal in various ways with love, many are war ballads, some are about sailors and the sea, and a good many of them tell of crimes. There are also a number of humorous broadsides, but most are either tragedies or accounts of a hero's success despite obstacles. The attitude of the balladeer is rather conservative and even puritan, and the division of characters into good and bad is simple and standardized.

Most broadsides date from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and give a good picture of popular taste of a period. Their interest is primarily textual, for the melodies were usually not printed in the original versions. Instead, a melody already popular was often named as the one to which the new words were to be sung. Thus we cannot speak of any real unity between words and music. A few tunes were used for a great many texts, and on the other hand, new tunes were frequently introduced by individual singers if they did not know the melodies originally intended for use.

Perhaps the British broadsides make up the largest single segment in Anglo-American folk song. At any rate, they have exercised a great deal of influence on the native American broadsides, many of which, indeed, are simply derived from the British ones. The stories of the broadside ballads are not as interesting, and not as well worked out poetically, as the popular ballads or the Child ballads. The recourse to clichés is greater, the events are more predictable and are usually of little psychological significance. For example, in "The Irish Mail Robber," a youth persists, despite his father's warnings, in drinking, gambling, and maintaining bad women. Convicted of mail robbery, he is imprisoned for nine years. In "The Bold Soldier" a father threatens to kill his daughter because she wants to marry a soldier. The soldier fights her seven brothers and threatens to kill the father, but the father agrees to the marriage and, after more pressure, gives the soldier all of his wealth. Many broadsides give accounts of actual happenings, such as crimes and accidents, and thus served to spread news and to keep a record of events.

A considerable number, perhaps as many as one-third, of the British broadsides are of Irish origin. Although in English, their style and their subject matter are different from the English and Scottish ones, and a larger proportion of them are in the humorous category.

Most of the native American ballads first appeared as broadsides and, typically, deal with real events. Their texts are similar to those of the British broadsides. They are presented in a more emotional, less detached manner, for the narrator sometimes takes part and often makes moral and ethical evaluations. In "Jesse James," for example, the refrain of each stanza condemns the hero's murderer:

But that dirty little coward shot Mr. Howard
And laid Jesse James in his grave.

The plots of the American and British broadsides are often much more complex than those of the British popular ballads. Often they have not been in oral tradition long enough to shake off the many secondary characters which have evidently disappeared in the older ballads. The broadside ballads do not always revolve around a single event as do the Child ballads. Some, like those dealing with Jesse James, John Henry, and even Franklin D. Roosevelt, are biographical and narrate several episodes. The order of events varies. Most of the American broadsides tend to emphasize a hero, praise his qualities and dwell on his deeds, including some which are not of primary importance to the main theme.

The music of the broadside ballads is sometimes in the style of the old English ones, but more often it is modern. It is usually based on a seven-tone scale and is in major or minor rather than in one of the other modes which are common in the older material. The rhythm is more varied than in the Child ballads, but it is usually cast in one of the standard eighteenth and nineteenth century meters, 3/4, 4/4, or 6/8. While the British material as sung in the Old World has a large proportion of triple meter, when these songs become established in American tradition, there

tends to be a change to 4/4. Irregular musical meters, which we find in older songs, do not often appear in the broadsides. The poetic meters, however, exhibit more variety in the broadsides than in the Child ballads. The melodic contours and the over-all forms are more varied, and instrumental accompaniment is also more common. Indeed, the broadside tunes are constructed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century styles of popular music, which include an innate feeling for harmony, so that accompaniment is definitely called for.

Words and music in the ballads are not wedded to each other. Different texts may be found with a single tune, and one text is often sung to a number of unrelated tunes. If the singer forgets the tune of a song but knows the words, he may substitute another tune with the same rhythm. This is facilitated by the simple and stable patterns of ballad poetry. Sometimes a part of a tune is taken and given new words. This happened in the case of "The Pretty Mohee" (Example 9), originally a British broadside with four lines. The last two lines of the tune were separated and fitted to the text of "On Top of Old Smoky," an American folk song which subsequently became popular in the semi-folkloristic hillbilly tradition.

The specific relations between the words and the tune of a song are often intriguing. It goes without saying that the music must to some extent parallel the metric, rhythmic, and linear structure of the verbal stanza. The relationship often goes even further, however, to the extent of establishing parallels between the musical form and the content of the words. This should not be construed to mean tone-painting, or the use of musical imagery to represent words and ideas. Example 4, a version of "The Gypsy Laddie" collected in southern Indiana, shows what may occur in some cases. But other ballads have different kinds of text-music relationships, and we certainly cannot consider this example a representative one of general trends since this entire area of ballad study is still quite unexplored.

The musical form of this song could be described by the letter-scheme A¹ A² A¹ A^{2L}. The second and fourth lines are almost identical, the chief difference being the fact that the fourth line

is an octave lower than the others. The verbal stanza is also divided into four lines whose contents can be interpreted in several ways, each with its parallel in the music: 1) The last line is the dramatic climax of the stanza, and its music is set off from the rest by being pitched an octave lower than the other lines. 2) The text can be divided into two equal parts, the first dealing with "last night," the second with "tonight." The music is also symmetrical, the second half being a repetition of the first, modified only by the octave transposition. 3) Lines 1 and 3 are united by describing the place in which "she" sleeps, lines 2 and 4 by indicating with whom. Again, this division is observed in the music, lines 1 and 2 being identical (A^1), and lines 2 and 4 being at least very close (A^2). Although this kind of integration of text and music must have been created unconsciously, it may nevertheless have been a factor in the survival of the ballad. While it is not evident in detail to the listener until after a detailed analysis, its effect may be felt subconsciously, and there may be aesthetic factors which direct a song towards this kind of integration. I should point out, however, that the parallels in this example occur only in the first stanza (which is repeated at the end) and that they are not followed through in subsequent ones.

Although the ballads are perhaps the most popular and best-known songs in the Anglo-American tradition, there are a great many other kinds, some brought from Britain, others native American, which live on in American folk culture. Many are associated with various occupations such as sailing, lumberjacking, cow-punching, mining, and farming. There are dance songs, play-party songs, and religious folk songs. All of these are closely related in musical style to the ballads, as are the love songs and the humorous songs which especially typify American folklore. Samuel Bayard⁴ believes that most of the songs in the Anglo-American tradition are descended from about fifty-five tunes and thus belong to fifty-five "tune-families." If this is correct, American tradition has benefited enormously from communal re-creation, for the number of variants — some close to the original, some changed almost beyond recognition — of these few original tunes

is today almost unlimited and constantly increasing.

The songs of cowboys, sailors, and other occupational types, being narratives, are often ballads, and many give accounts of disasters and other tragedies. Some have been considerably influenced by early musical comedy and vaudeville. Many miners' songs have been patterned after Negro folk music. Sailors' songs have also been adapted to tunes which originated in many European countries and the Americas, something not unexpected in a group which has had contact with cultures throughout the world.

The entire history of the United States has been illustrated in folk song. Among the ballads, particularly, but also in the lyrical songs, there are many which have historical content. We have songs about wars, giving the exploits of unsung and unknown individuals as well as accounts of world-famous events, from "Yankee Doodle" to the F.D.R. ballads. Peacetime history is narrated in songs about the frontier and the trials of Indian fighters, in songs of the industrial revolution and the labor movement, in the accounts of local incidents and biographies of folk heroes, criminals, gangsters, and benefactors of mankind. Even political subtleties like Jefferson's "Embargo" of 1808 found their way into the folk tradition, as indicated by the following song sung to the tune of "Yankee Doodle"⁵:

Attention pay, ye bonny lads and listen to my Fargo
About a nation deuced thing which people call Embargo

Chorus: Yankee doodle, keep it up,
Yankee doodle, dandy,
We'll soak our hide in home-made rum
If we can't get French brandy.

In Boston town the other day the people were all blustering,
And sailors too as thick as hail away to sea were mustering.

I asked the reason of the stir and why they made such pother,
But deuced a word they answered me or Jonathan my brother.

At last a man with powdered hair come up and said to me, Sir,

Why stand you gaping here, you rogue, come list and go to sea, Sir.
I've got a vessel at the wharf well loaded with a cargo,
And want a few more hands to help and clear the cursed embargo.

The song goes on to tell how the embargo was ignored by the American shipper, and that the narrator finds it unbelievable that "the Embargo's gone to sea, Sir."

There is a fairly large repertory of instrumental music, though it is rapidly disappearing, in Anglo-American folklore. Used largely for dancing and marching, it is played on fiddles, dulcimers, and fifes, and its style is closely allied to that of the songs. Many of the tunes are based on the song tunes; on the other hand, some of them have become songs through the addition of words.

The religious folk songs of the United States comprise a large body of music which has been gathered from many different sources: ballads and other folk songs, compositions by itinerant evangelists, patriotic songs, vaudeville and minstrel shows, dance tunes and marches, and old hymn tunes from urban churches. We find not only hymns sung at services but also camp-meeting songs and religious ballads. Most religious music is, of course, not folklore, but there are a number of Protestant groups in America who even today have little musical literacy and whose songs are transmitted entirely through oral tradition. Their hymns are folk songs, also, because many of them are variants of tunes current in other fields of musical folklore; like ballads and dance songs. Many of the folk hymns were printed in the shape-note system, a method of writing music which assigns a differently shaped note to each tone of the scale (do, re, mi, etc.). Of course the music printed in this way is not always real folk music by our definition, but there is usually a close relationship to folk music. Shape-note hymnals appeared during the nineteenth century throughout the North and the Southeast. It was especially strong in the nineteenth century South, and we know now, through the researches of George Pullen Jackson, that the Negro spirituals are closely related to, and often derived from, the so-called "white spirituals" of the Southerners of British descent. The Negroes have added much to the style of the spirituals and

have made them essentially a Negro product, but the original material was usually taken from the folk hymns of the whites.

Among the religious folk songs we must also mention the carols, although the most popular ones ("Silent Night," "Adeste Fideles," etc.) should probably be excluded because they have become standardized and associated with school and church. In the areas where the British heritage is still living, there are also some folk carols which are generally unknown in the cities, such as "The Seven Joys of Mary," and the apocryphal ballad, "The Cherry Tree Carol." Many of these carols were discovered and championed by John Jacob Niles. Musically they tend to have the same features as the older songs in the Anglo-American tradition: they are modal or pentatonic, having relatively large ranges and sometimes irregular metric patterns.

Somewhat outside the Anglo-American tradition proper are a number of song types which are not very common in Britain but which have become typical of American folklore. Although their style is still close to the British, their content may be uniquely American, or at least it corresponded so well to the American culture patterns that it experienced a much greater degree of growth and diffusion here than in the Old World. The physical environment in America and the combination of the British and other cultures are responsible for some of the special American features in these songs.

Humorous songs are common in the American heritage, and they often follow the tradition of tall tales, which are regarded as the outstanding feature of American folk narrative. Some are about animals, such as the "Ram of Darby," which is as tall as the moon, one of whose locks is sufficient wool to make a gown, and whose butcher is drowned in its torrents of blood. Animal songs are generally popular in American folklore, with the animals the subjects of human-like exploits, being subject to praise or censure and giving advice to humans. Their tunes are also part of the same stylistic body as the ballads.

Unique among the occupational songs are the cowboy songs, many of which are partially sung in a falsetto voice and with yodeling of a sort. They serve as cattle calls and for communica-

tion over wide spaces. In some of them, the stanzas are followed by a falsetto refrain with meaningless syllables for a text. Others have no strophic structure but simply an alternation of a falsetto phrase with one sung with a normal voice.

Especially well collected are the coal miners' songs of Pennsylvania. Their subjects reflect pride in the mining trade and, frequently, discontent with the hard life and bad treatment of the miners in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Musically, they exhibit many styles, some tunes being sung to the tunes of British ballads, others to modern broadside tunes especially composed for them, and still others to tunes brought from eastern and southern Europe by men who came to America to work in the mines and who sing (often in their native languages) of their homes, the families they left behind, their hopes and disillusionments in their new country, as in Example 28.

The love songs of the Anglo-American tradition are relatively few in number, compared to the other traditions of western Europe, and they are mostly sad songs of complaint, of lost love, or of anger at the beloved's infidelity. Some of their tunes are especially interesting examples of the old English ballad style. A common feature of the texts is the repetition at the end of the first stanza in a closed, cyclic form. Also relatively small in number are lullabies, whose musical material is sometimes identical with that of some love songs. Larger in number, and more lively in tradition, are children's game songs and counting-out rhymes, many of which go back to the play-party songs of Puritan New England, where they served as substitutes for dancing.

VI

IMMIGRANTS from EUROPE and AFRICA

The many groups of non-British immigrants to the United States have had a profound influence on our folk music culture, by diversifying the picture by the addition of new styles and the adaptation of their own aesthetic principles to British-American folk music. From a consideration of the ways their traditions have behaved, these immigrants can be divided into two groups: the Negro and the European.

Negro folk music, as well as some of the forms of popular music related to it, has commanded much attention among scholars, and the degree of relationship between the American Negro music and that of their African ancestors has been widely discussed and argued. Some students have asserted that American Negro music is simply African material,¹ while others have argued that it is an integral part of the British tradition.² One side maintains that it was borrowed from other cultures, and another that it has sprung from the unique position and history of the American Negro. Today it is generally believed that both of these views are at least partially right.³

The styles of African Negro music, although extremely varied, share a few general features. This is particularly true of West Africa, from which most of the slaves were brought. Much of their material is performed antiphonally, in call-and-response patterns, usually by a leader and a group. The phrases tend to be short, and the over-all forms of the songs are also short and simple but augmented by variations. Melodic development is not

great, but rhythm is often very complex and syncopated, though the meters are simple and constant. The music is typically polyphonic, much more so than in most western European folk styles. Instruments, especially drums, rattles, and bells, but also horns, plucked string instruments, and xylophones, are prominent in number, variety, and function.

Some of these characteristics are present in the American Negro material. In the folk songs of those parts of the New World in which Negroes predominate, such as the West Indies, the African traits are easily discerned, but in the United States they are not as evident. Some songs which are still sung in Haiti were probably brought from Africa, but the United States seems to have no native African compositions because the Negroes have become Westernized. Even they, however, have not lost their African musical heritage completely, and it is specifically the surviving African traits which have made American Negro music so interesting to the white population.

The Negro spirituals are among the best-known products of Negro folklore. Although they were once believed to be the exclusive property of Negroes, they have now been shown to be closely related to the folk hymns of the Southern whites. George Pullen Jackson discovered most of these white spirituals published in shape-note hymn books of the early nineteenth century, and on this is based his conviction that the Negro spirituals are simply adaptations of the white hymns.⁴ To be sure, if one examines the melodies of the spirituals on paper, they seem to fit the characteristics of Western hymnody. They have tunes which, although they could conceivably fit into some African styles, are definitely in the English folk song tradition or in that of urban hymn composition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They have pentatonic scales, the over-all forms usually consist of four phrases of equal length, and the rhythms are not essentially different from those of English folk songs. But if we listen to recordings of Negro spirituals sung by genuine folk singers, we find that a good many things occur which are simply not shown in the printed music. For although they are basically Western, the singers of the spirituals incorporate some of the

special techniques which mark these songs as Negro property. It is not the nature of the songs themselves, but the way in which they are performed, which makes them a distinctive Negro contribution.

American Negro folk music, then, tends to consist of the superimposition of some performance traits originating in Africa upon music which is originally European in style. Those traits which are especially African, which have been developed to a high level in their original home, are carried over into American Negro music. The other traits, those whose development was neglected in Africa, tend to disappear and give way to their European counterparts. Negro spirituals, for example, are often sung polyphonically, more often than are hymns of the white people. To be sure, the kind of polyphony used is not African, but the very preference for it in itself indicates the presence of an African tradition. Many spirituals are performed in a call-and-response or "responsorial" manner. The freedom of the individual to deviate from the pattern as it is sung by the rest, and to introduce his own version, is probably an African survival, for improvising is a highly developed art in Africa. Syncopation and other features which create rhythmic interest, the use of percussive clapping and stamping, the use of dancing as a part of a Christian ceremony (in the ring-shouts, for example), can all probably be traced to the African musical traditions which the Negroes have carried with them, and whose stronger elements have survived in America in spite of the century-long acculturation of the Negroes to Western civilization.

We find these elements also in the non-religious Negro songs: ballads, blues, work songs, children's songs. Even in those children's ditties and counting-out rhymes which are not actually sung, but recited with established rhythm and intonation, we encounter some of these surviving characteristics.

The words of Negro folk songs are interesting because they often mirror the thinking of the people and their place in American culture. Thus the so-called "field blues" as well as the blues sung by city Negroes reflect dissatisfaction with their lot. Many of the work songs are songs of protest, as are some of the ballads

and love songs. On the other hand, the content of many songs is similar to that of white people's songs. For example, John Henry, the steel-driving hero of a Negro ballad, is comparable to such a white ballad character as Jesse James.

The instruments of the Negroes were in some cases simply borrowed from the culture of the whites; they, too, use guitars, fiddles, mandolins, and dulcimers. But the Negroes brought some instruments from West Africa with them, modified them, and made them genuine members of the American family of folk instruments. The most famous, of course, is the banjo, originally the West African *bania*, the Negroes' favorite instrument for accompanying songs, which, with significant changes, has penetrated Anglo-American culture. Another is the "washtub," a string stretched vertically between an obliquely standing stick and a wash tub turned upside-down. It is evidently derived from a type of animal trap in which a skin is suspended over a hole by a string which breaks when an animal steps on the skin.

A subject which has commanded widespread interest and caused a great deal of discussion in recent years is the status of jazz in folklore. Jazz is obviously related to folklore, but the problem is whether it can actually be treated as folklore, whether it behaves like folk tradition.⁵ There are a number of interesting aspects of this problem which bear discussion in a general book on folk music in the United States.

If we examine jazz as it is today, we find that it is composed and performed by highly trained, sophisticated, and even intellectual musicians in the cities and is hardly distinguishable from cultivated music, except by its popularity with the general public. And some of the most "progressive" jazz is not, in fact, popular. The usual justification given for calling it folklore is that much of it is improvised. This practice, however, is not really particularly characteristic of folk music, but it was a common phenomenon in various periods of cultivated music history. In the earlier periods of jazz, however, there were a good many elements found also in folklore. Many of the first jazz musicians were untrained or self-taught. They came from a tradition of genuine folk singers like Leadbelly and Josh White, singers who,

in spite of their traditional background, composed songs and created unique, individual styles. These singers, although members of a folk culture, took on the specialization and professionalism characteristic of cultivated music and thus are in an intermediate position. It was through such in-between musicians that jazz rose to be a combination of folk and urban musical culture.

The older jazz, like Negro folk music, has some of the characteristics of African music. The emphasis on rhythm and rhythmic instruments, the theme-and-variation structure reminiscent of call-and-response patterns with variations, the improvisation of variants by individuals in the ensemble; all these tie jazz closely to Africa. And even though jazz is no longer folk music, even in the wider sense of the word, it can be understood only in its relationship to the folk music of the Negroes, both African and American.

The Negroes contrast with most other non-British groups in America because they introduced their native style into the songs of the British tradition. The immigrants from Europe, on the whole, brought their own songs from the old countries and kept them separate from the English ones. They learned English songs in addition to their own, but the two kinds of music usually did not mix. The musical elements of continental Europe, the complex rhythms of the Balkans, the polyphony of Russia, the florid style of Italian songs were not superimposed on British ballads and other music.

Most of the immigrants from Europe, especially those who arrived during the last eight or nine decades, settled in the cities. Some groups, however, settled in rural areas, especially the western and northern Europeans; Germans, Swedes, Irish, and French. And we must not forget the rich Spanish tradition which is centered in the American Southwest, a tradition which goes back several centuries before American domination of that region. We can mention only a few examples from many possibilities.

Some ethnic groups, the Amish, for example, live in virtual musical isolation, practicing ways of singing which seem to be totally different from those of other groups in their vicinity. The Amish are a Swiss-German religious group related to the Men-

nonites, who live in parts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa. They farm and, for religious reasons, live a life of considerable austerity, without mechanical appliances, education, or entertainment. Their only songs are hymns, whose tunes live only in oral tradition. The style of the hymns is extremely slow, melismatic, and rhythmically complex. Each word in the text takes up a good many notes, and it is not possible to discern a regular meter in the music. These hymns are always monophonic, for as a token of humility no part-singing or instrumental accompaniment is allowed. At first hearing, they make little sense musically and it is hard to believe that they are the product of a western European group. Indeed, there seems to be no trace of such a style in present-day Germany or Switzerland, nor is it reasonable to believe that the Amish learned it in America, or even in Russia, where they spent some time on the way to the United States.

In Chapter III, I pointed out that the Amish style is one of those peculiarly American phenomena, a marginal survival which seems to have disappeared in its original home, but which still exists on the fringes of its culture. And if the Amish tunes are taken apart it soon becomes evident that they are merely slowed down and highly ornamented versions of old German hymn tunes and that the embellishments themselves are retarded versions of some of the ornaments so characteristic of sixteenth and seventeenth century cultivated music. It is likely that the Amish hymn style is a survival of a way of singing hymns in rural southern Germany, a way which has since died out in its original home under the pressure of modernization.

Of the various ethnic groups in America, only a few have undergone thorough musical examination. We know a good deal about the music of the French-Americans, the German-Americans, the Spanish-Americans, but very little of other groups. In general, it appears that they all brought a sizeable portion of their Old-World traditions with them, that they practice these with considerable vigor, but that these traditions are nevertheless gradually diminishing and giving way to songs in English and to the abandonment of oral tradition in principle.

There are some instances of European songs merging with, or becoming incorporated in, the Anglo-American tradition. The German song, *Du, du, liegst mir im Herzen*, has become a part of the general American repertory, as have the French *Alouette* and *Frère Jacques*. Light, short children's songs or lyrical songs lend themselves easily to this inter-lingual exchange; ballads, because of their verbal complexity, usually do not do so, though isolated examples such as *Stenka Razin* do appear.

There are also some instances of melodies passing from one ethnic group to another. For example, the tune of a Pennsylvania German song about a house spirit, *Marjets wann ich uffschteh*,⁶ is the tune of the children's song "Go tell Aunt Nancy the old grey goose is dead." There is a trend towards exchanging folk songs, towards the acceptance of English songs by ethnic groups, and the penetration of the British tradition by a few songs in foreign languages and styles.

It is impossible to go into the individual musical styles of the various ethnic groups in this short space; and such a procedure would not be proper here, since the musical styles of the ethnic groups are essentially those of their home countries. Thus, the best way to become informed on these styles and bodies of folk song is to study the music of the original homes of the various groups. For this purpose, a number of representative collections and studies of European folk styles are given in the bibliographical aids. In summary, however, we may be justified in saying that there seem to be at least three different modes of behavior among the folk styles which were brought to America by non-British immigrants. First, there are repertories in which the original stylistic elements alone survived and were imposed on a part of the British tradition. This mode obviously takes in the Negroes. In the second we include those repertories in which the European songs were brought over and which live side by side with the British songs, some individuals knowing songs from both traditions. Here the ethnic group retains some contact with a style existing in the Old World. The third mode are marginal survivals of styles which have completely disappeared in Europe or which are so different from the American development that the relation-

ship can no longer be recognized, like, for example, the hymns of the Amish.

VII

FOLK MUSIC in the METROPOLIS

The study of folk music in the city is an integral part of American folklore research which has not yet been utilized exhaustively. Indeed, the picture of an individual city has not yet been presented in full, and the only raw material available is a few scattered and largely unpublished collections from individual non-English speaking groups and a collection of industrial songs from Pittsburgh. Most of this chapter, consequently, is devoted to a preliminary survey of the situation in Detroit, the only city for which even such a tentative report is available. But there is reason to believe that these findings would apply also to other American cities.

The folklore of the Detroit area has been extensively collected by Thelma G. James and her students at Wayne State University, especially in the field of oral literature and folk beliefs. Some collections and studies of music have been included in their project,¹ and in preparing the present chapter I have used these as well as material gathered by myself and by my students.²

Folk music of the city is interesting because it differs from rural folk music in structure and function. We would like to know whether it can be called folk music at all, whether it behaves like other folk music when it is transmitted, and whether it reflects the urban culture of which it is a part. We wish to know what kind of people participate in the folk music of the city, and what happens to songs which are brought from a rural into a city environment. We wish to explore the difference between

folk music in American cities and those of Europe, for in the answer might lie a key to understanding some of the essentials of American civilization. I should like to discuss some of these questions and to suggest some possible answers which are based, however, only on material from Detroit and which cannot be considered definitive even for that city.

Whereas Detroit is a metropolis in the real sense of the word, it has become one only recently. As little as fifty years ago, its population was only one-tenth of its present two million.³ This rapid growth is the basis of a specialized composition of the population, which is certainly a factor in the development of the musical folk culture — a rather different one from that of the countryside. In contrast to most large European cities and, to a smaller extent, cities of the Atlantic seaboard, which have grown more slowly and gradually, the new American cities have populations of which only small segments are descended from urban residents of long standing. By far the majority of the population is composed of individuals who themselves came from elsewhere to live in the city, or whose parents originated elsewhere. Thus the Detroiters have come from many different parts of the world, but most of them have come from the countryside of Europe or America.

I have already pointed out that folk music is usually considered essentially a rural product, and that some students of folklore do not admit the possibility of genuine folk music flourishing in the city. Accepting this statement, we can still consider the folk music of an American city genuine because the folk are only slightly removed from their rural roots. To be sure, most of this material was brought from the country in ready-made form. There is relatively little, if any, which actually originated in the American cities. But the rural music, once arrived, undergoes some important changes.

Again, using Detroit as an example, the native American population which brought the Anglo-American tradition to the city has not kept this heritage as well as the later arrivals to America have kept theirs. Here Detroit contrasts with rural America. The English-speaking community from the South, composed of whites,

tends to break down in the metropolis. Folk songs are not often passed from parents to children after the family arrives in the city. The musical life of the Southern whites in Detroit is taken out of oral tradition, it ceases to preserve the old folk songs, and it is removed from the hands of the family and entrusted to the tender care of the hillbilly disk jockey. And hillbilly songs (which are definitely related to folk music, but are not themselves folk songs) do not, as a rule, pass into oral tradition. The Southern white immigrants have left the tradition of active participation and have become spectators and listeners in the pattern of modern city entertainment. They know the hillbilly songs well, but they do not sing them or teach them to their children. Instead, they rely on the professional musicians in taverns, on radio and television, to propagate them. And when a song is dropped from these outlets of entertainment, it also dies in the minds of the Anglo-American viewers. The real folk songs, however, popular ballads, broadsides, and lyrical songs, seem gradually to disappear from the tradition, except for those kept alive by a few professional entertainers who make something quite different out of them because they were not originally intended for public entertainment.

The other English-speaking group which has recently arrived in the cities of the North, the Southern Negroes, seems on superficial examination to have retained only a little more of its rural folk tradition than the Southern whites. The Negroes seem to have kept at least a part of their religious folk song tradition, the spirituals, but their interest in secular folk songs has almost always been transformed into an interest in commercial Negro popular songs on records, performed by professionals who are objects of hero worship by both Negroes and whites. An interest in the folk blues has been turned into a love for the popular blues; the singing of work-songs has been replaced by listening to old-time jazz.

It is of interest, however, that the religious songs of the folk tradition flourish in comparison with the secular songs. There are several possible reasons. Some churches frown on the use of recorded material and radio, so that the spirituals must be passed

on by oral tradition. Those Negroes whose family cohesion is strongest are usually the most devout; thus, since the family is usually an important unit in oral tradition, word-of-mouth transmission favors religious material. On the other hand, Negroes tend to prefer jazz and other popular music because it solidifies their urban status and is a field in which they, as a group, enjoy prestige among whites. The Negroes in industrial cities are avid record fans; the number of record stores in Negro residential areas is disproportionately great, even in the poverty-stricken districts. Negroes seem to have a greater desire to be urbanized than the Southern whites. The latter are often transient, returning periodically to the South, and they remain rural in spirit. Most Negroes in the North have no intention of returning to the South.

The non-English-speaking groups of the newer American cities are much more conscious of their folk music heritage than the native Americans. For them, folk music is a way of retaining the cohesion of their ethnic groups, but it is also a method of impressing and gaining the respect of other inhabitants of the city. While native Americans often scoff at the strange rituals, holiday observances, and accents of the immigrants, the European folk songs usually arouse their sympathy, warm interest, and even attempts at imitation. But in a foreign environment a European ethnic group must work hard to achieve this continuity. It does not usually trust to the usual channels of oral tradition to assure the survival of the songs. Instead, it organizes singing groups and clubs, it sponsors professional entertainers, it develops specialists. Folk music becomes the concern of the intellectual leaders of the ethnic groups. Thus, while folk music remains in the life of the ethnic group more fully than in that of the natives, it is changed under the pressure of Americanization and urbanization. It is probable that the folk music of immigrants from countries largely rural, from eastern Europe, for example, is greater in volume and more vigorous than that from the heavily urbanized and industrial countries of western Europe.

Nevertheless, the ethnic groups retain folk music in its most genuine form. They vary considerably in their use of folk music because of their original differences, times of immigration, and

status in the New World. But oral tradition survives. A young Polish informant in Detroit, whose grandparents emigrated to this country over fifty years ago, knows many songs, all learned from his relatives, and he indicates that this is typical. Indeed, he believes that most of the second and third generation Polish-Americans know more folk songs than do those who have recently arrived in the United States. This fact is of great interest, for it reaffirms the theory of marginal survivals, and that the United States is one of their centers. We know that in many cases elements of a culture die out in the center of their distribution but survive longer at the margins. In this case, Polish folk songs have evidently decreased in number and strength at the center of their distribution, Poland, probably under the pressure of urbanization, industrialization, and political propaganda. But in the outskirts of Polish culture, among the Polish-Americans who left their homeland when folk music was flourishing, the songs have remained for a longer time and have been more vigorous.

A study comparing the songs sung by Puerto Rican children in New York with the versions sung in Puerto Rico yields interesting conclusions.⁴ Gradual changes come about in the songs, the most recent arrivals in New York singing variants most closely corresponding to those collected in Puerto Rico. In the New York version, references to the rural life tend to disappear, English words and American place-names are introduced. The changes in the tunes are insignificant, and a vigorous folk song tradition seems to be evident.

The practice of general participation in folk song, one of the marks of most rural musical cultures, is of course weakened in the city. Whereas a large segment of the population still participates fully, there is a tendency to develop specialists in folk song, individuals who are not really professional musicians but who, because of their great knowledge of folk songs and their interest in them, are recognized as guardians of the tradition. Among the Polish, largest of the ethnic groups in the Detroit area, they are the cooks who cater at weddings and who also perform the musical parts of the marriage ritual. These cooks evidently know hundreds of songs, wedding songs and others, and they act as con-

sultants in folk song and folklore.

Most of the ethnic groups have semi-official organizations which try to insure the preservation of the folk music heritage.⁵ Choirs and bands are led by specialists in folk music who, although they participate in the folk tradition, are often trained professionally and have at least a semi-professional status and also specialize in teaching folk music. Thus, although they are instrumental in preserving the musical folk tradition, they are also responsible for some of the differences between rural and urban folk music.

Another aspect of most rural folk songs is communal recreation, the development of variants by creative change on the part of the singers. We are not at all sure whether communal re-creation operates in urban folk music. The indications are that it is weaker than in the country and that standardization is more general. A partial reason must be the rather frequent use of printed folk song collections, albums, and records. Another is the development of specialists who standardize their versions and develop conscious musical behavior.

Musical instruments tend to play a larger part in Detroit folk music than in the rural material, probably because of the preponderance of instrumental music in the city. The instruments themselves have not increased in number, but they are used often, both for solo and accompaniment, and proficiency on an instrument is demanded of most folk singers. The songs which must be sung unaccompanied tend to decline more rapidly than the others.

Most of the folk music of the ethnic groups seems to retain its original function to some extent. Wedding songs are still performed at weddings, dance songs are used for dancing, etc. However, the music of folk songs tends to become more important to the members of the ethnic groups than the song texts and their functions. According to some informants, the quality of a tune is a greater factor in the survival of a song in America than are its words. It is also interesting that folk dancing and knowledge of its details are more wide-spread than mere singing.

Individuals who speak a foreign language as well as English, and who are thus members of two folk cultures, at least poten-

tially, usually do not participate in the musical folklore of both groups. Apparently they tend to take part in the folk music of the foreign-language group more commonly than in the Anglo-American material.

What kind of fate may the folk songs of the foreign ethnic groups expect in the future? It is possible that the songs will share the fate of the ethnic groups themselves. The latter have been decreasing in size and strength.

We can examine this same question from the point of view of individual informants. It appears, for example, that the oldest child in a family of Polish settlers knows more folk songs than the younger children. The extent of ethnic knowledge a Polish informant has seems to correlate with the amount of Polish he speaks. Doubtless the amount of music known by native members of the ethnic groups is smaller than that of their immigrant parents, and recent arrivals (as among the Puerto Ricans) are better versed than old-time United States residents. However, there is no doubt that some types of folk music, especially those associated with functions that remain in practice, such as dancing, survive for several generations.

The question also arises whether the new interest in folk music on the part of students and intellectuals is about to provide our cities with a new folk music. Certainly this interest is laudable, but if the essential components of folk music are kept in mind — oral tradition, development of variants — it is obvious that this new practice bears little relationship to folk music as classically defined. But the widespread singing of folksongs from the Anglo-American tradition in our cities is certainly affecting the people's attitude toward music, and while folk music itself may not strictly speaking be involved, there is no doubt that our musical culture as a whole is being vitally affected.

My final question, then, is: Is there any true city folk music in America? There seems to be little or none. Some institutions try to foist their songs on the population in order to achieve material results. For example, some labor unions try to fuse such songs as "Joe Hill," "The Union Maid," and "UAW-CIO" into oral tradition. Such attempts are usually failures in creating folk songs,

granting some significant exceptions. Union members know these songs, but they learn them from the professional union song leaders at meetings and summer camps, and the latter, in turn, learn them from songbooks. The members themselves do not usually pass them on to their families, but there is reason to believe that these union songs may have been closer to folk tradition in the days when unions were first being organized. Similiar statements could probably be made about company songs, political songs, patriotic songs, and the like. Yet as the days of active strife and violence in labor relations gradually recede, there is a chance that a true body of traditional folklore in the labor movement is emerging in the cities of America.

Songs of complaint about the city, and particularly about industrial life, are evidently more common and are closer to being in a genuine folk tradition. A collection of Pittsburgh industrial folk songs⁶ includes, besides a number of union songs, material which is not directly associated with union activity in spite of its pro-labor tone. Some of these songs are in the native languages of the foreign-born workers (Example 28), sung to eastern and southern European tunes, but others are in English and occasionally make use of the tunes current in popular and broadside balladry, such as the following text, which is sung to the tune of the well-known "Crawdad Song."

Pittsburgh is a great old town, Pittsburgh;
Pittsburgh is a great old town, Pittsburgh;
Pittsburgh is a great old town,
Solid steel from McKeesport down.
Pittsburgh is a great old town, Pittsburgh.

Evidently, then, there seems to be little music of city origin which takes root in urban folk tradition. Just as a great deal of rural folk music seems ultimately to be of city origin and to trickle down to folk tradition, so we can say that the folk tradition within the city is dependent on material from the countryside. But the American city, in contrast to its European counterpart, is a storehouse of European folk music which is kept alive in the enclaves which perpetuate to a degree their original rural culture.

VIII

THE PROFESSIONAL FOLK SINGER

So far in this book we have discussed folk music as it exists in its natural environment, how it lives in its rural home, and something of its behavior when it migrates to the city from the countryside. And we have confined ourselves to the use of music by genuine folk cultures, whose property folk music is par excellence. But folk music has another side; it often penetrates the urban, sophisticated musical culture. Indeed, most readers have probably had their first contact with folk song from recordings made by professional folk singers rather than from material recorded in the field. Why is it possible and even necessary to separate these two ways of performing folk music? Because it usually undergoes some very fundamental changes when it becomes part of an urban and collegiate musical culture. Some of these changes are obvious, others subtle. But the lover of folk music should be aware of them, and be careful not to confuse the two modes of presentation. Their confusion has often resulted in misrepresentation of facts concerning the original, rural form; on the other hand, it has led to considerable abuse being heaped on the professional folk singer.

It is unfortunate to have this confusion. I recently suggested to a student that she collect some folk songs for a term project, whereupon she asked me whether I knew anyone who could get her a discount at a local record store. For her, folk songs existed only on commercial records, sung by professionals. She was unaware that she herself knew some folk songs, learned from her

mother, and that folk music was at all different from cultivated and popular music. It is important to realize that what the professional folk singer is doing, is trying to do, and in fact is required to do is something quite different from what the member of the folk community does. And if we assume, as we have throughout this book, that a song may be folk music under some circumstances and cultivated music under other circumstances, it is possible that songs sung by the professionals are not, and cannot be, genuine folk songs at all. In order to solve this dilemma, we would have to decide whether a piece of music can exist in an abstract form, outside of a performance. This problem is outside our scope here, but I believe the answer in the case of folk music could easily be "no," since oral tradition is its primary distinguishing feature. Since folk music proper lives only in performance, we can judge it only within its medium of presentation.

There is much variety in a professional's degree of knowledge and first-hand experience in folklore. Some professionals are members of a genuine folk tradition, of families in which oral culture is well established. They usually embark on professionalism through urbanization, and they are affected accordingly. For example, a genuine informant who sang for Library of Congress collectors decided that he was successful enough among those learned gentlemen to go to New York and become a full-time ballad singer. Some other folk singers come from the cultivated musical field; they are trained concert artists who like folk songs and wish to bring them to their audiences. Others, again, are scholars with a knack for public performance and entertainment. Some professionals have a thorough knowledge of the fundamentals of folklore and the factors which separate it from other types of tradition; others constantly exhibit incredible naivete (or arrogance) and are willing categorically to call practically everything they wish to sing a folk song.

The presentation of folk songs by professional singers is a force to be reckoned with in today's urban musical culture. Its over-all influence has certainly been beneficial to the survival of folk music at large, in spite of the misunderstandings to which it has

exposed its subject. It has caused a boom in the cities, which has in turn reached the country and persuaded the bearers of folk tradition to renew their waning enthusiasm. The purposes of professional folk singers are usually very laudable. The purposes are concerned with fostering a deeper understanding of folk heritage; they are educational and artistic. Too often, however, the professional has been propelled by political and nationalist ideas. In various European countries, especially Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and the Communist governments, folk music has been used to further the desires of the state, to underscore false scientific theories, and for other propaganda aims. Whether the actions of these governments are in themselves acceptable or not, this use of folk music has resulted in widespread misinformation about the nature of folklore and folk culture, and the song material itself has suffered from changes imposed by the state.

The American government has not participated in this subversion of folk music. But among the professional folk singers there are some who have used their material with such aims in mind. The use of folk music by professionals, and its appreciation by wide intellectual audiences, dates from the late 1920's, when songs were used to underscore the movements for social justice and to give emotional appeal to the arguments of labor. Later the use of folk music shifted from the "folks of the left" to those of "the right," and folk song became a patriotic and even nationalistic expression. Some folk singers tried to show the alleged superiority of Anglo-American folk songs as compared to those of other ethnic groups, and Americanization of minority groups via folk music was attempted.

Even when such motives are not involved, as in the majority of cases, it seems to be practically impossible for the professional folk singer to present his songs in a way which gives a true picture of the musical folk culture of the United States. After all, he is singing for the entertainment of an audience. In the folk culture the songs have a function beyond aesthetic enjoyment, but in the city this function is lost, and the folk singer must compete with Beethoven and Hoagy Carmichael for the favors of an audience. It is a sophisticated audience which knows what it wants. And it

usually does not want folk songs served in the austere way of the countryside; it wants music which adheres to the prevalent tastes and fads, with a little of that folksiness and quaintness which the urbanites believe to be characteristic of folklore. The professional folk singer must cater to these wishes if he is to be successful. And from this need stem the various characteristics of professional folk singing, traits which are far removed from those of genuine folk music.

The professional folk singer inevitably accompanies his songs with an instrument, since cultivated music is prevailingly accompanied. But in order to give the appearance of authenticity, he uses folk instruments, or what resembles them. The guitar and the banjo are most common, and often they are perfectly in place. Only when the accompaniment takes on the character of a solo performance, when it is played with virtuosity, does it cease to sound like folk music. But sophisticated audiences are usually not content with simple accompaniments, restricted to prosaic strumming of two or three chords. They want some "razzle-dazzle" and the performer must supply it. Other folk instruments, the dulcimer, the mandolin or the zither are constructed and played with greater complexity than they ever are in a folk environment. Instruments of the Renaissance, the lute and the recorder, are resurrected, even though they were part of a sophisticated musical culture and are not folklore. All of this is good entertainment, even good music, but it certainly cannot be called folk music, and it gives the listener a completely false impression of what his folk heritage is like.

Perhaps the trap into which the professional folk singer most frequently falls is the individualization to which he must subject his songs and the attention which he must draw to himself as their interpreter. American folk culture does not admit much individuality. While songs do have interpretations which are characteristic of individual singers, a genuine singer in a folk culture tends to stick close to his tradition, in spite of the effects of communal re-creation. It is not his person which is the center of the listener's attention, for he is only the temporary mouthpiece of a long tradition in which the individual rendition is only inci-

dental. The professional or collegiate folk singer must focus attention on himself because his audience insists on it. It wants to hear not a tradition but an individual, not the characteristics of a widespread style and its culture but the peculiarities and the mannerisms of an interpreter. Thus the professional must sing his songs in a very special, inimitable way, he must rehearse his peculiarities, and he must arrive at a distinct version of each song, a version which then has to ossify so that it will remain the same for years; if it does not, the audience will think that its hero is "slipping." He must practice his trademarks, his way of removing his coat, his talking to the audience. Obviously these traits are completely contradictory to genuine folk music. There is nothing wrong with them in themselves; indeed, they are the essentials of cultivated music, but they give a false picture of folklore and the listener should be aware of the discrepancy.

Genuine folk singers who become entertainers of urban civilization take on the characteristics of professionals even though they begin as members of a folk community. This is even true of some American Indian singers who entertain tourists; they begin to concentrate on one style of singing and on one kind of song, namely that one which the tourists find most appealing and believe to be most characteristically Indian. Folk singers select those melodies which allow them to exhibit vocal brilliance and virtuosity. The use of harmony and other kinds of part-singing in Anglo-American songs is common in the professional repertory but rare in folk cultures. There are many other ways in which professional singers change the musical characteristics of the raw material.

Perhaps their greatest offense is the introduction of songs into what the audience believes to be the folk repertory which are not folk songs at all, but cultivated or popular songs, or songs which the folk singer has composed himself. Why does he indulge in this? Again, because genuine folk songs may not be sufficiently entertaining and do not always conform to the notions of quaintness and folksiness which the city audience believes essential in folklore. The professional must supply the public's wants and has had to go far afield to find the right product. He has used cul-

tivated medieval music which, so far as we know, was never a part of folklore. He sings patriotic songs, labor songs, work songs which were never in oral tradition. Finally, he is forced to compose songs himself and to hide his authorship. This must be particularly annoying to him, and it would not be necessary if it were widely admitted. But evidently the professional folk singer is committed to a career of mixed purposes, and the good, musical, and sophisticated arrangements which he makes out of folk songs, the interpretations which are often interesting and penetrating, must be presented as true folklore in the original version if it is to sell. A few professionals have solved this problem by calling themselves arrangers of folk songs, and some have tried to explain what they are doing in scholarly and objective terms. But most of them persist in defeating the educational aims to which they are devoted because they are not willing to tell their audiences what they are actually doing and how their versions differ from those of folk culture proper.

Professional singing is most common in the Anglo-American tradition, but it is also evident in American Negro music, and it has crept into the musical cultures of most ethnic groups. In the latter it is largely a method of preserving the songs and, more particularly, of fostering national pride and unity. Again, laudable as these aims may be in themselves, they do not give a true picture of folk music. Professional folk singing for entertainment is a great preservative, but it is also a catalytic agent. While preserving folklore it changes its very essence. But in order to find out about the true heritage of song in the United States we must go into the field, to the uneducated and often unmusical singer for whom folk songs are not only entertainment but also the expression of a way of life.

IX

COLLECTING and STUDYING FOLK MUSIC

Research in folk and primitive music is part of several disciplines. The raw material is collected with the techniques of anthropology and classified with those developed by folklorists. It is then set down on paper and analyzed through methods developed by musicologists, but the results of the analysis are usually interpreted by means of anthropological theory. Thus the scholar who wishes to do a complete job of studying a body of folk music should be familiar with all of these fields. Let us outline the processes of acquiring information on folk and primitive music.

First comes collecting, which must be done with sound recordings since the members of folk and primitive cultures do not write music. Occasionally scholars have tried to write down the music as they heard it performed in the field, but this is usually so difficult that even several repeated hearings are not sufficient for an accurate notation. There is an amusing (though perhaps spurious) story about a great German anthropologist who was doing field work in Australia. He knew nothing about music, but he heard a native song which he thought interesting, and he wished that he could somehow transport it to his musicological colleagues. Since no recording apparatus was available, he proceeded to memorize the song. But his memory was poor, and he decided to rehearse the song every day so it would not disappear. By the time he returned to Europe and sang it for his colleagues, they laughed because it sounded like a German popular song.

Because he was not acquainted with the native system of music and perceived it only by comparing it with his own, he had gradually and unconsciously changed the song to conform to his own ideas and tastes and to what had been his musical experience.

Today's standard collecting equipment is the tape recorder; but in the past collectors have used Edison cylinders, some operated by a treadle similar to that of a sewing machine; then disks; and after World War II, wire. Tape recording did not become popular in the United States until very recently, although it has been used longer in Germany, where the first collection of folk music on tape was probably Dr. Fritz A. Bose's work in 1936 on German folk ballads.¹ Collecting is a rather arduous and specialized task, involving more than simply finding a band of Indians and switching on the current. It requires knowledge of the material which is to be collected, acquaintance with the culture of the informants, and a great deal of patience, understanding, and ability to handle people, resembling a combination of public relations and mental therapy. Having decided upon a group, a student must begin by reading the literature on the music and culture of the group, and considering the special problems facing a collector of its music. Collecting Indian music, for instance, involves careful selection of informants, for many Indians today do not know the old Indian songs and only a few remember them well. Let us consider ideal collecting conditions from the research scholar's point of view. Of course, the amateur collector need not feel that he must follow every point brought up here, but if he does, his collection will be more useful and worthwhile.

First, the collector must try to find an informant who is considered an authority on folk music in his community, if possible a person who has not spent much time outside his culture. He should be persuaded to sing as many songs as he knows, even if some are fragmentary. Often such a person is rather old and his voice will not be as good as in the past; but the fact that he knows much material and remembers a bygone era makes him a worthwhile informant. Then the collector should find others and collect from them whatever they know, especially including, if possible, the same material as that collected from the first in-

formant. One should record the same songs from several people because there are slight differences among the various versions, differences which are important for a number of reasons described below and in earlier chapters. Finally the collector should return to all of his informants and ask them to perform again the material performed earlier. This is again necessary because there are slight but important differences between the versions, differences which are interesting from a number of points of view. For example, we may assume that certain things in a performance of music are significant, meaningful to the performer and listener, and others are insignificant and arbitrary, and might as well not be there. A performer usually leaves intact the significant things but he may change the insignificant ones. The study of various renditions of the same music by one or several performers may enable us to find out more about the essentials of that music, about what features are important in a given style and what are not.

Re-recording sometimes presents unforeseen problems. Some of the Plains Indian tribes, many of whose songs use meaningless syllables instead of words, do not identify the songs by name. As a result one cannot always ask a singer to perform a specific song. A song can be identified by its function; for example, it can be called a love song or a Rabbit Dance song, but these are categories and would make the singer think of a large group of songs. The collector can sing the beginning of the song one wants to hear, or play a bit of a previous recording, but this in a way defeats the purpose of re-recording because the informant's mind is directed to what he has just heard, and the dice are loaded in favor of that particular version. Since there is often no meaningful text, one cannot quote it to him. Sometimes the only recourse is simply to ask the singer to sing all or some of the songs he has sung before, and hope that he will faithfully do so. Even then it is a problem to unscramble the recordings, to identify the variants and the performances which go together, for in many tribal repertoires all of the songs sound very much alike to Western ears; and two separate songs may sometimes seem closer to us than two versions of a single song. This is one of the many

intricacies and fascinations of collecting folk music.

Perhaps a few words should be said about the recording media. Magnetic tape recording is of course the easiest from the point of view of convenience and is preferable for work in the laboratory. In studying a piece of music or trying to reduce it to notation, it is necessary to repeat short bits of it many times, a process which easily wears out a disk recording but not tape or wire. Wire, however, is prone to break under such strain and, once broken, ties itself into little knots which are almost impossible to handle. The result is a roomful of loose wire which can never be repaired, and often several minutes of music are lost in the process. Tape may also break, but it can be spliced very easily.

Tape should move as rapidly as possible on the recorder for best acoustic results. But speed could increase the cost of tape considerably. A rate of 7-1/2 inches per second is sufficiently fast, 15 inches practically ideal. For solo singing and some instruments, 3 3/4 is satisfactory and can be used for anything if necessary, but 1 7/8 is definitely too slow because it reproduces too few cycles. However, even at 7-1/2 inches per second tape is usually less costly than disks, so tape has all the advantages.

Besides making recordings, the collector should also assemble and write down a great deal of information about the music in order to make his collection of maximum usefulness. He must note what songs are sung by each informant, how often, and when. The types and functions of the songs should be reported, and if possible it should be ascertained where the informant learned each piece. Then there is much information about the musical culture of the group, something not directly related to the recordings, which helps nevertheless in their interpretation. For example, there is the question of composition, that is, who composes songs, and how. Furthermore, we are interested in standards of performance, for these, of course, vary from culture to culture. For example, the Plains Indians prefer performance by high voices, but the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest prefer a low, growling rendition. The collector should find out who the good performers in a community are and what, in the minds of

their compatriots, makes them superior. He should get information about musical instruments, their construction, use, and tuning. For the latter, the recording machine can again be used. It takes no technical knowledge of music to ask a performer to play all the possible tones on a given instrument, and to record them; but this procedure can be of tremendous importance to the musicologist who studies the recordings. Other items could be added, but let it suffice to say that any statements about music made by native informants are welcome, important, and relevant.

Once the recordings are made, they pass into the hands of the ethnomusicologist. His first job is to transcribe them into notation, and sometimes this is his only objective — one valid task is simply to present the raw material in notated form and make it available for others to study. This transcribing of a piece of primitive music into notation is a difficult job, and folk music is not much easier. It is sometimes so time consuming that it is not uncommon for a song which takes one minute to perform to be transcribed only after an hour or more of work. Why should it take so long, if, after all, first-year college music students can learn to write down what they have heard repeated three or four times, in exercises called "dictation"? The reason points up one of the most important and interesting facts about primitive and folk music, and about the methods of studying it.

We should first realize that there are at least two ways of reducing what one hears to notation. One can expect to hear music in a preconceived pattern, to which the music will adhere, as in classes of music theory, where students are taught what to expect and then to supplement what they have actually heard with what they know should and will be played by the instructor. But the student of primitive music has a different point of view. He must try to write down exactly what occurs in the music; he must not allow his hearing to be diverted by preconceived ideas of what should take place. Otherwise what he writes down will be subjective, influenced by the kind of music he has been used to hearing, and he will "correct" what he hears in the light of his previous listening, creating a transcription which would obviously not tell us about the music itself, only about the stu-

dent's reaction to it.

We, as members of western European culture, have been conditioned since childhood to a type of music which is very complex and specialized, and whose accompanying theory tells us that it is the best and highest type of music. When we listen to the music of other cultures, our natural tendency is to compare it, at least subconsciously, to our own music and to correct in our minds the sounds which we hear with our ears, so that they will conform to our ideas. But the non-Western systems of music, and those of folk music, are often quite different from ours, with different patterns in melody, rhythm, harmony. Their pitches cannot always be reproduced on our instruments, for primitive and folk music tends to use different scales from ours. And since our system of notation has evolved to take care of Western music only, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to reproduce with it the music of other cultures.

I have said that the transcriber of primitive music must be objective; but this does not mean that he is to become an automatic gadget which simply records and which eliminates the human aspects of music. Humans do not make good gadgets, and there are some mechanical devices which are much more accurate than the human ear. These, however, are only good for giving us a partial insight into the music. Electronic apparatus gives us the acoustic aspects of music, shows us vibration rates and overtones, but it omits the emotional and communicative sides of music. But mechanical transcribers do have their value, and I shall describe the two most important ones here.

First is the oscillograph, which records all the pitches, overtones, etc., on a rotating drum with a stylus, much like a thermometer which records temperatures over a period of time. What it writes is very difficult to decipher because it includes so much more than the human ear can perceive. What it records must be re-transcribed into ordinary notation in order to be useful.





The stroboscope is more useful, but it does not really transcribe. It simply enables one to ascertain the exact pitch of a tone to a degree much more accurate than that of a human transcription. It is useful for finding out the scale of a musical style, but it

would be an endless task to attempt to use a stroboscope for every single note in a song. Only for uncertain or especially interesting pitches and intervals is it of practical value.

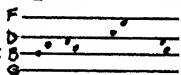
Some attempts at an "instantaneous" music notator, into which recordings would be "fed" and digested into finished transcriptions of a highly technical nature, have not yet resulted in a model for general consumption. The most promising is one developed by Charles Seeger, designed, of course, to supplement rather than actually replace the human ear. Since music is, after all, performed by and for humans, the best instrument for recording it is, in spite of its limitations, the human ear and mind, even when a strange musical culture is involved. But the ear should be careful not to superimpose its own cultural and musical experience on what it hears. The transcriber has to be prepared to hear distinctions in pitch which do not exist, or rather, which are not significant in his own musical culture, and he must expect to hear rhythmic combinations and complexities which are beyond those he knows. In order to accommodate these differences between exotic and Western music, some special signs have been devised to help him reproduce what he hears in our system of notation, and yet to avoid violating the music. But in spite of all these aids, transcriptions are merely symbols, approximations of sound. It would be difficult for a Westerner to take such a transcription, to sing it, and have it sound at all like the original performance. Nevertheless, transcriptions are useful and necessary for learning about folk and primitive music, for we can only get a part of the picture from the sound recordings alone.

The following symbols are most frequently used to represent features in primitive and folk music foreign to Western notation:

- +.[↑] slightly higher than notated
- .[↓] slightly lower than notated
- (.) uncertain pitch
- indefinite pitch
- × grace note, without rhythmic value
- ||| weak tones
- pulsations

-  strong tie
-  glissando
-  slightly longer than notated
-  slightly shorter than notated

Some of the schemes for notating exotic music modify the staff system in favor of a different arrangement of lines. The use of graph paper, which can show note length and pitch variation logically, seems promising for some purposes. Another method uses a conventional staff of large proportions, which enables the transcriber to place the notes at various points between the lines

and spaces:  Frances Densmore² has tried writing

Indian songs in simplified form by representing only the overall melodic contour. The difficulty with these methods is that most people learn with a certain amount of effort to read conventional music notation, after which they are not amenable to learning others. While these special schemes do have some value for presenting material to specialists and students, it seems best for the general reader and for educational purposes to continue with the conventional system aided by a few special modifications like those mentioned above.

Classifying the recordings of folk and primitive music and making them available for study is an important aspect of research. This is especially true because one cannot positively identify a song in all its versions, and one does not always know whether two recordings are actually performances of the same song or not. Consequently, some special tune techniques of conservation have had to be invented. There are a number of important archives of recordings in the United States, the largest being the Archives of American Folksong in the Library of Congress, which specializes in American material. The Archives of Folk and Primitive Music at Indiana University has music from all continents and includes the world's largest collection of North American Indian recordings. The Laboratory of Comparative Musicology of Northwestern University is especially strong in Afri-

can and New World Negro music, and there are smaller collections at various other institutions, including the Universities of California, Washington, and Michigan, and the Chicago Museum of Natural History. There are also some specialized archives such as the collection at Wayne State University, which is devoted exclusively to material collected in the Detroit area. All of these collections, however, share the job of preserving the folk music heritage of the world for times when it will have disappeared or will have changed beyond recognition. I should point out that they contain, for the most part, recordings which have never been duplicated in quantity or published. Since they often exist only in the original, they are usually not available to the public but only to students and researchers.

The analysis of folk and primitive music is a complex and difficult matter which requires much knowledge of basic music theory and which would take up more space in this book than can be allowed, were we to discuss it in detail. Among the basic principles involved, however, the following distinguish folk music research from that in other kinds of music. The scholar who analyzes folk music is usually working in a medium relatively distant from the music most familiar to him. Therefore he must be extremely careful, just as in transcribing, not to impose his own ideas and experiences on the music he is analyzing. He must not give way to the temptation of calling unusual intervals simply out-of-tune equivalents of their Western counterparts, or of calling complex rhythmic patterns "free" or "chaotic." He should abstain from criticizing and evaluating his material from an aesthetic point of view, since this is likely to distort the analysis and to produce an ethnocentric and thus irrelevant judgment. Finally, since most folk and primitive music consists of short, simple pieces whose structure does not approach the complexity of even the simple songs in Western music history, their description usually can and should go into greater detail than an examination of cultivated music. Analysis of folk and primitive music is expected to be more accurate and more objective than that of cultivated music.

The various fields of American folk music have not been evenly

covered in research; some parts of it, such as American Indian music, are well known, but others, such as the music of the recent immigrants, have hardly been touched. Some, such as the music of the Negro, have been the subject of much theorizing with insufficient collecting, while elsewhere, as in the English tradition, there has been extensive collecting but little theoretical work. Although research in American folk and primitive music has been in progress only for about half a century, a tremendous amount of information has been accumulated. But much remains to be done; the musical folklore of the United States is still a wide open field for collecting, research, and publication.

X

FOLK MUSIC and CULTIVATED MUSIC

The use of folk music by the composers of cultivated or art music has been an important factor in the history of music. Composers have usually felt closer to and more familiar with folk music than have the historians of cultivated music, and, indeed, virtually all of our knowledge of folk music before the nineteenth century comes directly from sources of cultivated music rather than from theoretical and historical writing. In the early epochs of Western history folk and cultivated music were probably more similar in style and more clearly related in function than they are today. There was evidently a time in European culture when there was no essential distinction between the two types; the increasing degree of differentiation may have come about simply through the growing professionalism and specialization among the composers.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to cite the multitude of instances in which sophisticated composers have used folk music. I wish only to show some of the important types of relationship between traditional and cultivated music as shown in the works of these composers. The examples were chosen somewhat arbitrarily, for hundreds of others could have illustrated the points equally well; those given here are among the best known. Moreover, a complete survey of the compositions in which folk material appears is an impossibility, for the identification of this material is itself a difficult and problematic matter. Finally, I do not desire to evaluate the uses of folk music by cultivated com-

posers, either from the point of view of the folklorist interested in presenting folk tradition in a pure form or from that of the music critic.

Historically speaking, the earliest type of relationship between traditional and cultivated music is probably that between the folk and the cultivated in an individual ethnic or national group. Professional composers seem to have begun using traditional elements unconsciously, without feeling that they were dealing with something foreign to their usual musical experience. They simply combined the similar styles used by the two groups without feeling that they were borrowing from one and adding to the other. The background for this similarity is usually the common musical heritage and experience of the two levels of the population and the existence of a common culture and possibly of similar personality types among both cultivated and folk composers. But the basic reason for this close relationship is probably much deeper and more elusive and cannot be described here any more than the question, why a given national group should have a particular musical style at all, can be fully answered. An historical approach to our problem would point to the fact that the cultivated music in a given country is descended from the same undifferentiated tradition as the folk music, which may be behind the relatively free and informal use of folk music by professional composers before the nineteenth century, composers who evidently considered folk music a part of their own tradition rather than a related but basically foreign one. Although the interest in folk music grew tremendously in the nineteenth century, at least on a conscious level, traditional material began to be set apart, so to speak, and treated in a special way, which was not the case in earlier centuries.

Since roughly 1800, professional composers have used folk and even primitive music, but they have viewed it as something exotic. They have not always really integrated such materials into their styles, but have simply added it as if it could be removed again without disturbing the results of their own personal inspiration. Their use of folk music can be arranged in three categories:

1. *Using folk music without essential changes or additions.* This usually consists of harmonizations of folk songs with an accompaniment sometimes designed to bring out the folk style, and at other times evidently composed so as to hide the peculiarities of that style and make the song conform to the standards of cultivated music. The former method is exemplified by the harmonizations of Hungarian, Slovak, and Rumanian folk songs by Béla Bartók; the latter by those of the Irish, Scottish, and Welsh songs by Beethoven. In all of these the original folk melodies have remained undisturbed in their original form, and the composer has contributed only a harmonic setting, inspired, in the case of Bartók, by the songs themselves, and in Beethoven's arrangements, by the composer's own style of harmony.

2. *Using folk melodies which have been changed somewhat to conform with the system and structure of cultivated music.* Examples of this category are rarer than of the other two. They are most commonly found where the traditional material is in a style considerably removed from that of the cultivated composer. In the American Indian songs used by American composers, for example, certain pitch differentiations can not easily be reproduced on European instruments. The original Indian material may then be changed so that it can be played by piano or orchestra. Changing the instrument without changing the music itself also comes under this category of arrangement. Similar changes may be made for rhythm and other elements of music. A famous example of this type of folk song use is the second theme of the first movement of Tschaiikowsky's *Fourth Symphony*, based on a folk song, "The Beech Tree."

3. *Composing music imitating a folk style.* This category is probably of the greatest interest and may be the most common. Composition of folk-like music, often necessitating some kind of analysis by the composer, ranges from individual motifs and themes to full-length symphonies, as well as such short forms as songs and instrumental character-pieces.

For a professional composer to become something of a folk-composer, which is what happens in the latter category, involves either saturation with a folk style through long contact with the

members of a folk group or musicological study. The results of such a use of folk music are varied. Some composers write melodies in the style of folk songs and fit them into an environment which bears little or no relationship to that style. This happened, for example, in Dvořák's *Fifth Symphony (From the New World)*; the second theme of the first movement imitates an Indian song in a symphony which is otherwise not Indian in style. Another example is a theme in Aaron Copland's *Appalachian Spring* which sounds like an American fiddle tune. That these discrepancies do not inhibit the general effectiveness of the compositions goes without saying.

Less frequently, composers have taken certain characteristic elements of a folk style, such as a peculiar kind of tonal organization, a rhythmic pattern, or a kind of melodic contour, and used it, leaving other elements of the music in their non-folk style. An example is the violin solo from Rimski-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*, where the rhythmic monotony and the interweaving of a few tones, common in Arabic and Persian music, are taken over into a Western tonal and harmonic structure.

Finally, some composers try to reproduce the stylistic features of folk music even in those elements of their music which are not present in the folk style at all, such as harmony. This reproduction is usually accomplished by extending the patterns of the folk style, such as the use of a scale in the harmony which is already present in the melody. This manner of imparting the elements of a kind of folk or exotic music to the entire musical structure of a complex Western piece has been used by some modern composers, for example, by Bartók and Vaughan Williams in Hungarian and English folk songs.

The use of folk music has had several purposes. Occasionally it has been tried in order to create a light or gay mood. In music with a text or a program (representation of non-musical material), rustic scenes and peasants are sometimes characterized by folk-like elements. Various types of local color and geographic locations are indicated by folk or folk-like music. In the nineteenth century the main motivation for using traditional material seems to have been the growing national consciousness among

those countries whose contribution to cultivated music had hitherto been small: Russia (whose composers Moussorgsky and Rimski-Korsakov along with many others, participated in the folk music movement), Denmark (Gade), England (Vaughan Williams, Britten), Spain (De Falla, Albéniz), Rumania (Enesco), Bohemia (Smetana, Dvořák), Hungary (Liszt, Bartók, Kodály), and others; but it applies less to the centers of Western musical culture, Germany, Austria, Italy, and France. In the latter group, folk music was often used to illustrate the rural aspects of culture and to symbolize the foreign or exotic, a practice which has more recently become widespread. Thus we have the *Capriccio Espagnol* of Rimski-Korsakov (which shows that he did not use Russian folk music alone), the use of Negro and Indian themes by Dvořák to show his reaction to America, and the use of Indian themes by American composers of English descent, and of Indonesian elements by Colin McPhee, an American.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries some composers used traditional music because it gave them opportunities to find new structural features and entire systems. Here the music itself often does not sound the least bit like folk music, but some folkloristic features are incorporated, as it were, abstractly. Modern composers, like the Czech Alois Haba, who use microtones and quartertones, were influenced by the small intervals of Near Eastern music. Bartók's compositions, again, contain some structural principles found in many Hungarian tunes, such as a characteristic type of symmetry in the tonal structure, even when the folk style is otherwise not evident.

Whereas European folk music, whose styles are closely related to Western cultivated music, has had an influence over the latter for centuries, the more remote styles of primitive and oriental music have become available to Western composers only recently. Nevertheless, they have exercised a considerable influence during the last few decades.

American composers have been concerned with the use of indigenous material because of their attempts to create some kind of national American music, a musical style which would distinguish them from the European composers.¹ As members of a

Western culture, they first thought of using the music in their own tradition, such as English and Scottish. But this did not distinguish them from their European colleagues, since this music is basically a European importation; so the American composers turned to those bodies of folk music which the United States shares with no other countries, American Indian and Negro songs. It is this material which predominates in American compositions.

One of the first among the composers interested in Indian materials was Edward MacDowell, often considered the greatest American composer. His *Indian Suite*, first performed in 1896, was, in the composer's own words, "suggested for the most part by melodies of the North American Indians."² The titles of the movements indicate some aspects of Indian culture: I. *Legend*, II. *Love Song*, III. *In War-time*, IV. *Dirge*, V. *Village Festival*.

Other composers who used Indian material are Arthur Farwell, Arthur Nevin, who composed an opera, *Poia*, based on a Black-foot legend, Charles Ives, who experimented with many other stylistic innovations and folk styles as well, Frederic Jacobi, Charles W. Cadman, and Henry Cowell. The use of Indian elements is usually limited to certain simple melodies whose scales coincide with those of cultivated music. The rhythms and the over-all forms of Indian music are rarely used so that few of the compositions are in the first of the three categories of the cultivated use of folk music.

It was the Czech composer Dvořák who first popularized the idea of using Negro folk songs, especially spirituals, in cultivated music; and he had many American followers. The Negro songs combine the virtues of being fairly close to the style of cultivated music, having been derived from the white spirituals, and yet of being a unique American contribution to music literature. Before Dvořák, French Creole music from Louisiana was incorporated in the pieces of a Creole composer, George Moreau Gottschalk, who gained a considerable reputation in Europe. The English-language Negro songs have recently been the basis of arrangements for vocal soloists and choirs and as parts of instrumental pieces. The Negro composers, William Grant Still and Henry Thacker Burleigh, the latter a pupil of Dvořák's, are important

in this field. The significance of Negro folk music in the development of popular music and jazz is obvious. Indirectly it has also been used by many prominent composers who assimilated the elements of jazz into more sophisticated compositions. George Gershwin is the most prominent American to have done so; Europeans, including such twentieth century greats as Igor Stravinsky and Darius Milhaud, have also contributed.

Anglo-American folk songs have not been entirely neglected. Charles Ives quoted them as themes in a number of his works, including his symphonies. He tried in several instances to convey the feelings and sounds of the simple musical performances which took place in his boyhood home in Danbury, Connecticut. Daniel Gregory Mason, too, experimented with folklore in some of his pieces, notably in a *Folk Song Fantasy*, which is based on the song "Fanny Blair." In more recent years, Aaron Copland and Roy Harris have used the British folk song style and incorporated some songs directly into their works. Their motive was, again, the creation of a distinctly American music. The folk music of other ethnic groups, however, has only rarely been absorbed into American cultivated music.

The United States has participated in the general revival of folk music as a source of inspiration for the composers of modern civilization. To be sure, a new, American style has not emerged from the revival, and it is unlikely that such a style could have been created simply through the use of folk music in a country whose musical traditions are so diverse and new. Nevertheless, the movement has contributed to the American people's awareness of their folklore, Indian, Negro, and British, and as such it deserves the attention of the student of folk music.

I

LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF-KNIGHT

He fol-lered me up, He fol-lered me down, He
fol-lered wher - ev - er I lay; I had no wings to
fly — from him; Nor no tongue to tell him
nay, nay, nay, Nor no tongue to tell him nay.

From George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*
(Philadelphia: 1949, University of Pennsylvania Press), p. 30;
Collected by S. P. Bayard, 1943.

2

LORD BATEMAN

The Turks_ they had but one lone daugh - ter, And
she was of some high de - gree. She
stole the keys of her fa - ther's dwel - ling, And



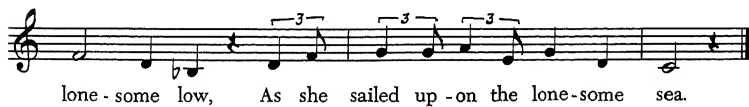
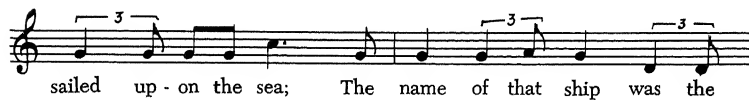
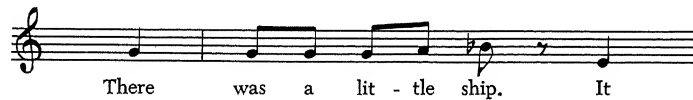
B
First line of another version.



Transcribed by B. Nettl, from Library of Congress record 1724B1;
Indiana.

3

GOLDEN VANITY



Transcribed by B. Nettl, from Library of Congress record 1740A1;
Indiana.

GYPSY LADDIE

Oh, would you for - sake your house and land, and
 would you for - sake your ba - by, And would you for - sake your
 own wed-ded lord to go with the gyp - sy Da - vy?

Transcribed by B. Nettl, from Library of Congress record 1750B1;
 Indiana.

Variants of Gypsy Laddie

GYPSY LADDIE

Transcribed by B. Nettl; Collected by Richard M. Dorson in
 Arkansas.

6

JUBILEE



Transcribed by B. Nettl, from Electra disk: *Jean Ritchie Sings*.

7

Tune for THE LONESOME DOVE



The words are not intelligible; the tune is illustrative of ornamentation in American singing.

Transcribed by B. Nettl, from Library of Congress record 1725A1; Indiana.

THE JOLLY LUMBERMAN
Tune: "Canady-I-O"

The musical score is written on seven staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is simple and rhythmic, with lyrics written below the notes. The lyrics are: "Come all you jol - ly lum - ber - men and lis - ten to my song, — I'll tell you all my sto - ry — and I won't de - tain you long. — Con - cern - ing some hus - ky lum - ber - men who once a - greed to go — and spend a win - ter re - cent -".

Come all you jol - ly lum - ber -

men and lis - ten to my song, —

— I'll tell you all my sto - ry —

— and I won't de - tain you long. —

— Con - cern - ing some hus - ky lum - ber -

men who once a - greed to go —

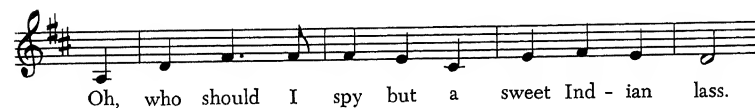
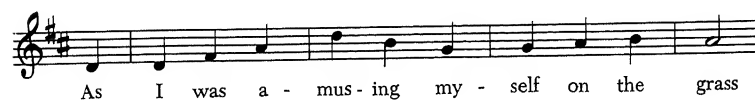
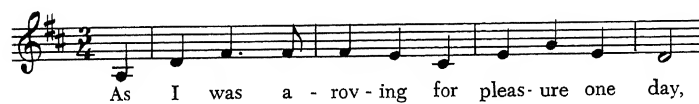
— and spend a win - ter re - cent -



From George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*,
p. 343.

9

THE PRETTY MOHEA



From James Harrington Cox, *Folk Songs from West Virginia*
(New York: National Service Bureau, 1939), p. 32.

WHEN I WAS A YOUNG GIRL
Play-Party Song

The musical score is written on six staves in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 2/4 time signature. The melody is simple and repetitive, consisting of eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words separated by a blank line to indicate a pause or a breath. The lyrics are: "When I _____ was a young girl, a young girl, a young girl, when I _____ was a young girl, a young girl was I. It was this way and that way, it was this way and that way; When I _____ was a young girl, a young girl was I."

When I _____ was a young girl, a
young girl, a young girl, when I _____ was a
young girl, a young girl was I. It was
this way and that way, it was
this way and that way; When I _____ was a
young girl, a young girl was I.

From Alton C. Morris, *Folksongs of Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1950), p. 204.

11

SOLDIER'S JOY
Fiddle Tune

From Samuel P. Bayard, *Hill Country Tunes* (Philadelphia:
American Folklore Society, 1944), No. 21.

BADUMA PADDLERS' SONG (Republic of Congo: Brazzaville)

$\text{♩} = 92$
Male Solo

mf Miseri-a di-a conga misere a ra miseri-a di-a conga misere a ra

Male Chorus

mf a ra

[partial chor.] [full] [partial] [full]

[partial] [full] [partial] [full]

mp *mf*

2nd solo (in background) Solo I

mf *mf*

[partial] [full] [partial] [full]

mp *mf*

The musical score is written for two staves. The top staff is for the Male Solo, starting with a tempo marking of quarter note = 92. The melody is in 8/8 time and features a series of eighth and sixteenth notes. The lyrics 'Miseri-a di-a conga misere a ra' are written below the notes. The bottom staff is for the Male Chorus, which provides a harmonic accompaniment. It includes dynamic markings such as *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *mp* (mezzo-piano). The score also includes bracketed sections labeled '[partial]' and '[full]' for both the chorus and background solos. The background solo is marked '2nd solo (in background)' and the first solo is marked 'Solo I'.

From Rose Brandel, *The Music of Central Africa* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), p. 200.

13
JOHN HENRY

When John Hen - ry was a lit - tle
ba - by, — Sit - ting on his Mam - my's
knee; He reached right out and
grabbed a piece of steel, Said "It's
gon - na cause the death of — me, Hey bud - dy." Said "It's
gon - na cause the death of — me."

From Alton C. Morris, *Folksongs of Florida*, p. 182.

14a

WE'LL WAIT TILL JESUS COMES
White Spiritual

My — heav'n - ly home is bright and fair, —

We'll be gath - ered home, — Nor — death nor sigh - ing

vis - it there, — We'll be gath - ered home. We'll

wait till Jes - us comes, We'll wait till Jes - us comes, We'll

wait till Jes - us comes and we'll be gath - ered home.

14b

DOWN BY THE RIVERSIDE
Negro Spiritual

O hal - le - lu - jah to the Lamb! Down by the

riv - er, The Lord is on the giv - ing hand,

Down by the riv - er - side. O we'll wait till

Jes - us comes, Down by the riv - er, We'll wait till

Jes - us comes, Down by the riv - er - side.

From George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), pp. 192 and 193.

15

AMAZING GRACE
Negro Spiritual

A - maz - ing grace, how sweet the sound, I

want to die a - shout - ing. I — want to feel my

sav - ior near When_ soul and bod - y's part - ing.

From George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*, p. 173.

Makah Indian Song



Text translation: "Good-by, my sweetheart"

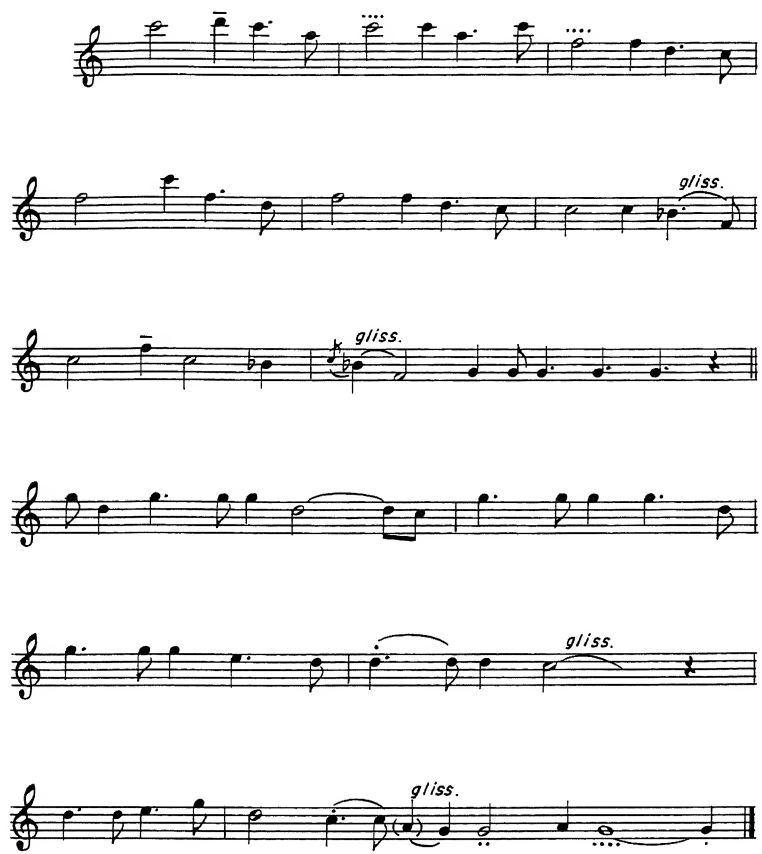
From Frances Densmore, *Nootka and Quileute Music*, Bulletin 124 of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), p. 177.

Modoc Indian Song



From Jody C. Hall and Bruno Nettl, "Musical Style of the Modoc," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, XI (1955), 61.

Arapaho Indian THUNDERBIRD SONG



Transcribed by B. Nettl, recorded by Zdenek Salzmann, 1948.

Two Creek Indian Duck Dance Songs

A
♩ = 104

B
♩ = 116

repeat from "B"

From F. G. Speck, *Ceremonial Dances of the Creek and Yuchi*
(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1911), pp.
169-170.

Teton Indian Moccasin Game Song
(Associated with the Ghost Dance)

♩ = 108

From Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington: Gov-
ernment Printing Office, 1918), p. 386.

21

Ute Indian Peyote Song



From David P. McAllester, *Peyote Music* (New York: Viking Fund, Inc., 1949); Song No. 76.

22

Arapaho Indian Peyote Song

He ya na hey ney ney, He ya na hey ney ney

He ya na hey ney ney, He ya na hey ney ney

Hey ya na he he ne yo we.

Collected and transcribed by B. Nettl, 1952.

Blackfoot Indian Song

Hi ya hi ya hey he ya he ya he ya
If you wait for me aft - er the dance is o - ver

he ya he ya ya he ya he ya ya
I will take you home in my pur - chased wag -

he ya hey he ya hey hey.

Collected and transcribed by B. Nettl, 1952.

SO WILL ICH'S ABER HEBEN AN

$\text{♩} = 60$
S T
So will ich's a -

ber he - ben an

Sin - gen in Got - tes Ehr'

S T

Dass man nicht kehr'

auf rech - te Bahn Nach

sei - nem Wort und Lehr.

S T

Ja nach dem Vor -

bild Je - sus Christ

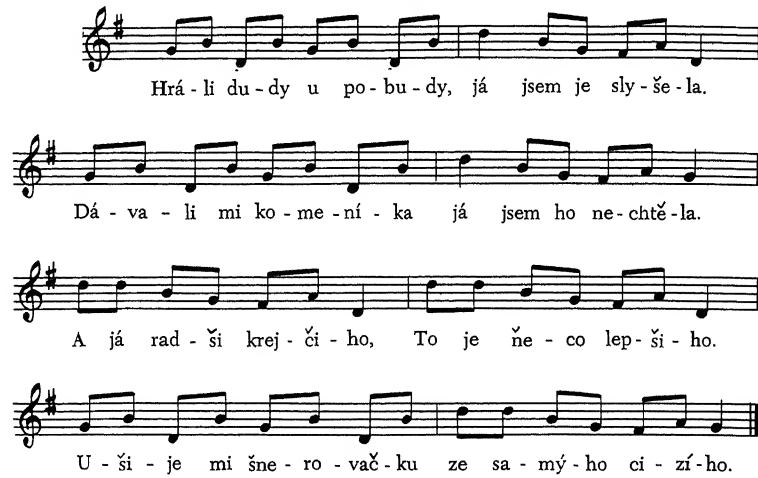
Der für uns dar ist

ge - ben Kein Kö - nig

sei - nes glei - chen ist.

Transcribed by B. Nettl from Library of Congress record 1767A;
Indiana.

25

HRALY DUDY
Czech Song


Hrá - li du - dy u po - bu - dy, já jsem je sly - še - la.
 Dá - va - li mi ko - me - ní - ka já jsem ho ne - chtě - la.
 A já rad - ši krej - či - ho, To je ně - co lep - ši - ho.
 U - ši - je mi šne - ro - vač - ku ze sa - mý - ho ci - zí - ho.

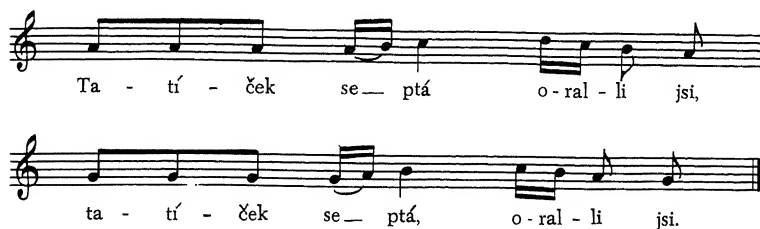
4. The bagpipes played at the tramp's house,
 I listened to them.
 They were marrying me to a chimney-sweep;
 I didn't want him.
 I prefer a tailor,
 That is something better.
 He will make me a corset
 Out of foreign cloth.

From Bruno Nettl and Ivo Moravcik, "Czech and Slovak Songs
 Collected in Detroit," *Midwest Folklore*, V (1955), 40-41.

26

ACH SYNKU
Czech Song


Ach syn - ku syn - ku, do - ma - li jsi?
 Ach syn - ku, syn - ku, do - ma - li jsi?



Oh, son, son, are you at home?
Father is asking, have you plowed?

From Bruno Nettl and Ivo Moravcik, "Czech and Slovak Songs
Collected in Detroit," pp. 40-41.

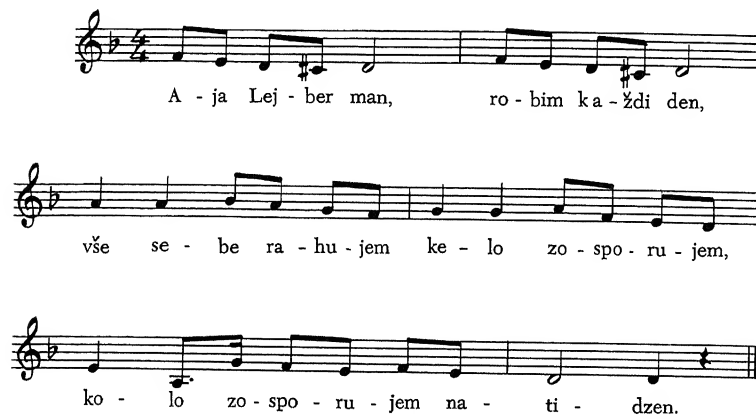
OKOLO TREBONĚ
Czech Song



Around Trebon, around Trebon,
Horses are grazing on the lord's field.
Give the horses, I'm telling you,
Give the horses oats.
When they have had their fill
They will carry me home.

From Bruno Nettl and Ivo Moravcik, "Czech and Slovak Songs
Collected in Detroit," pp. 42-43.

AJA LEJBER MAN
Slovak Industrial Song



A - ja Lej - ber man, ro - bim ka - ždi den,
vše se - be ra - hu - jem ke - lo zo - spo - ru - jem,
ko - lo zo - spo - ru - jem na - ti - dzen.

I'm a labor man,
I work every day.
To myself I always figure
"How much am I saving,
How much am I saving each week?"

From George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends*, p.
436.

Ukrainian Polyphonic Song





Transcribed by B. Nettl; collected by Roman Rosdolsky and
Ossyp Rosdolsky.

Rumanian Christmas Carols

30



31



From Béla Bartók, *Rumanian Christmas Carols* (London: Boosey
and Hawkes, n.d.), p. 2.

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PILL OLL HELLE
Estonian Song

Pill oll hel - le, pill oll hel - le

hel - le pe - dää - jä - ne. Hoi, ma lel - los, _

Hoi, _ ma lel - los, ma lel - los, pe - dää - jä - ne jo!

The bagpipe sounds shrill,
The bagpipe sounds shrill,
Sounds shrill from pine.
Hoi, I would sing,
Hoi, I would sing
I would sing as if made from pine, yo!

Transcribed by B. Netti; collected by B. Netti and Raili Merivalja,
1956.

NOTES

Chapter I

1. Julian von Pulikowski, *Geschichte des Begriffes Volkslied im musikalischen Schrifttum* (Heidelberg, 1933) illustrates this diversity.
2. "Folklore," in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend* (New York, 1949), I, 398-403.
3. Halsey Stevens, *The Life and Music of Béla Bartók* (New York, 1953), pp. 21-27; Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music* (London, 1931).
4. Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1835).
5. Hans Naumann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde* (Frankfurt, 1922).
6. Franz Magnus Boehme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877), pp. xii-xiii.
7. Phillips Barry, "Communal Recreation," *Bulletin of the Folk Song Society of the North East*, No. 5 (1933), pp. 4-6.

Chapter II

1. Theories on the functionality of folk and primitive music have been developed by George Herzog and are discussed in various papers mentioned in the bibliographical aids.
2. Siegfried Nadel, "The Origins of Music," *Musical Quarterly*, XVI (1930), 531-546.
3. Karl Buecher, *Arbeit and Rhythmus* (Leipzig, 1924).
4. Hugh Tracey, *Chopi Musicians* (Oxford, 1948).
5. These form types are introduced by George Herzog, "A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLIX (1938), 305.
6. Bruno Nettl, "Stylistic Change in Folk Music," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 216-220.

Chapter IV

1. From Arapaho informant William Shakespeare, 1952. See also A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (New York, 1902), pp. 418-421.
2. Bruno Nettl, "Notes on Musical Composition in Primitive Culture," *Anthropological Quarterly*, XXVII (1954), 81-90.
3. George Herzog, "Salish Music," in Marian Smith, ed., *Indians of the Urban Northwest* (New York, 1949), p. 107.
4. George Herzog, "Music in the Thinking of the American Indian," *Peabody Bulletin* (May, 1938), p. 4.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
6. Frances Densmore, *Cheyenne and Arapaho Music* (Los Angeles, 1930), p. 40.

7. Frances Densmore, *Nootka and Quileute Music* (Washington, 1939), p. 185.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934).
10. George Herzog, "A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLIX (1938), 333.
11. *Ibid.*
12. George Herzog, "Speech-Melody and Primitive Music," *Musical Quarterly*, XX (1934), 460.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 461.
14. Bruno Nettl, "Observations on Meaningless Peyote Song Texts," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXVI (1953), 161-164.
15. Bruno Nettl, "The Shawnee Musical Style," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, IX (1953), 284.
16. George Herzog, "Speech-Melody and Primitive Music."
17. Bruno Nettl, "Text-Music Relations in Arapaho Songs," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, X (1954), 192-199.
18. Bruno Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles* (Philadelphia, 1954).

Chapter V

1. Variants of the ballads mentioned in this chapter can be found in the various collections listed in the bibliographical aids.
2. Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music* (London, 1931); George Herzog, "Song," in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend*, II, 1041.
3. Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (8 vols.; Boston, 1857-59).
4. Samuel P. Bayard, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Principal Melodic Families of British-American Folk Song," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (1950), 1-44.
5. From *Bay State Ballads*, LP Record Fp47/2, Folkways Records.

Chapter VI

1. Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs* (New York, 1914).
2. George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1943).
3. Richard A. Waterman, "African Influence in American Negro Music,"

in Sol Tax, ed., *Acculturation in the Americas* (Chicago, 1952); Erich M. von Hornbostel, "American Negro Songs," *International Review of Missions*, XIV (1926), 748.

4. Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals*.
5. Daniel G. Hoffman, "From Blues to Jazz," *Midwest Folklore*, V (1955), 107-114.
6. George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia, 1949).

Chapter VII

1. I am grateful to Professor Thelma James for permission to use a Serbo-Croatian collection. In addition, I have used a Master's thesis by Helen Goranowski, *An Analysis of 65 Polish Folk Songs*, Wayne University, 1951. An important publication resulting from the collecting program at Wayne is Harriet M. Pawlowska, ed., *Merrily We Sing; 105 Polish Folksongs* (Detroit, 1961).
2. This includes recorded songs and written song-texts, in original as well as translation, with background information on songs and informants. The following ethnic groups were included: native white and Negro, German, Polish, Czech, Italian, Armenian, Scottish, Greek, Albanian, Russian, and Hungarian. The only part of this material published so far is by Bruno Nettl and Ivo Moravcik, "Czech and Slovak Songs Collected in Detroit," *Midwest Folklore*, VI (1956), 37-49.
3. All statements of population growth are based on Albert Mayer, *A Study of the Foreign-Born Population of Detroit 1870-1950* (Detroit, 1951), mimeographed.
4. Shulamith Rybak, "Puerto Rican Children's Songs in New York," *Midwest Folklore*, VIII (1958), 5-20.
5. These groups are listed among the official and semi-official organizations of the ethnic groups in a detailed listing by Albert Mayer, *Ethnic Groups in Detroit: 1951* (Detroit, 1951), mimeographed.
6. Jacob A. Evanson, "Folk Songs of an Industrial City," George Korson, ed., *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 423-466.

Chapter IX

1. Fritz Bose, personal communication in 1955.
2. Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Washington, 1918).

Chapter X

1. The material in this chapter is partially based on two important general histories of American music, which also include thorough bibliographies: John Tasker Howard, *Our American Music* (New York, 1939) and Gilbert Chase, *America's Music* (New York, 1955).
2. Howard, *Our American Music*, p. 331.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

Suggestions for further reading and study.

CHAPTER I

There are not many books about folk music in general or about the definition and the concept of folk music. Several of the articles, especially that on "Folklore," in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore and Mythology* (New York, 1949), can be recommended. The research side of folk music is explained in Charles Seeger, "Systematic Musicology: Viewpoints, Orientations, and Methods," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IV (1951), 240-248, and in Bruno Nettl, "Historical Aspects of Ethnomusicology," in *American Anthropologist* LX (1958), 518-532.

A number of important bibliographies, which list collections and studies, have been published. Among them should be mentioned Charles Haywood's *Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong* (New York, 1951), which lists materials in Anglo-American, Indian, Negro, and all other groups; also Bruno Nettl, "Musicological Studies in American Ethnological Journals," *Notes*, XIII (1955), 205-209. A *List of American Folksongs Currently Available on Records* was published by the Archive of American Folksong, Library of Congress, Washington, in 1953.

The standard bibliography of non-Western music is Jaap Kunst, *Ethnomusicology*, 3rd ed. (The Hague, 1959). A bibliography of current publications appears in each issue of *Ethnomusicology*, journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology.

CHAPTER II

The function of folk music in society is discussed by George Herzog in the articles, "Song," in Funk and Wagnall's *Standard Dictionary of Folklore and Mythology* (New York, 1949) and in a series by Bruno Nettl in the various issues of *Etude*, 1956-57. A short book by Russell Ames, *The Story of American Folk Song* (New York, 1955), gives a picture of American history as it appears in folk songs but deals only with the British tradition and makes little mention of the musical side of folk songs.

The variety and the common features of musical structure in European folk song are illustrated in an anthology, *Europäischer Volkslied*, by Walter Wiora (Cologne, 1953). There is no book in English which discusses the musical aspects of folk music in detail; in German there is one, though it is already somewhat obsolete: Werner Danckert, *Das europäische Volkslied* (Berlin, 1939).

Primitive music has fared better, for there are several general accounts which cover all of the world's areas. Marius Schneider, "Primitive Music," in vol. 1 of the *New Oxford History of Music* (London, 1957) and Bruno Nettl, *Music in Primitive Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) illustrate two opposing viewpoints. Several books by Curt Sachs contain large sections on primitive music which show a third approach and tie their subject matter to European cultivated music in a unique way: *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* (New York, 1943); *Rhythm and Tempo* (New York, 1953); and *World History of the Dance* (New York, 1937), which also, of course, discusses the relationship of primitive music to the dances of non-Western cultures.

Theories on the origin of music, relevant to a study of primitive music, are discussed in Siegfried Nadel, "The Origins of Music," *Musical Quarterly*, XVI (1930), 531-546. A survey of primitive and folk instruments is included in Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940).

CHAPTER III

Alan P. Merriam, "Music in American Culture," *American Anthropologist* 57:1173-78, 1955, surveys briefly the unique structure of our musical life. Alan Lomax, *The Folk Songs of North America in the English Language* (New York, 1960) is mainly a collection of songs but includes important introductory comments about the nature of American folk music.

CHAPTER IV

Several survey studies of North American Indian music have been published. Helen H. Roberts, *Musical Areas in Aboriginal North America* (New Haven, 1936) and Bruno Nettl, *North American Indian Musical Styles* (Philadelphia, 1954) are the most recent. Among the collections of music without musicological discussion are *The Indians' Book* by Natalie Curtis-Burlin (New York, 1907) and the many books by Frances Densmore published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. The most important of Densmore's books are *Chippewa Music* (Washington, 1910); *Choctaw Music* (1943); *Northern Ute Music* (1922); *Papago Music* (1929); and *Teton Sioux Music* (1918). These also represent five distinct musical styles.

Among the studies of individual tribes, styles, and aspects of Indian music, the following are representative: Alice C. Fletcher, *The Hako* (Washington, 1904); George Herzog, "A Comparison of Pueblo and Pima Musical Styles," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLIX (1936), 283-417, and "The Yuman Musical Style," *Journal of American Folklore*, XLI (1928), 183-231; David P. McAllester, *Peyote Music* (New York, 1949); Bruno Nettl, "Musical Culture of the Arapaho," *Musical Quarterly*, XLI (1955), 325-331, and "The Shawnee Musical Style," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, IX (1953), 277-285; Helen H. Roberts, *Form in Primitive Music* (New York, 1933); and Edward Sapir, "Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology," *Journal of American Folklore*, XXIII (1910), 455-472.

The relationship of music to other aspects of culture is discussed from various points of view in the following: George Herzog, "Music in the Thinking of the American Indian," *Peabody Bulletin*, May, 1938, pp. 1-5, and "Plains Ghost Dance and Great Basin Music," *American Anthropologist*, XXXVII (1935), 403-419; David P. McAllester, *Enemy Way Music* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); and Willard Rhodes, "Acculturation in North American Indian Music," Sol Tax, ed., in *Acculturation in the Americas* (Chicago, 1952). Willard Rhodes, "North American Indian Music, a Bibliographic Survey of Anthropological Theory," *Notes*, X (1952), 33-45, classifies the many ways in which Indian music has been approached.

CHAPTER V

The ballad texts are listed, described, and annotated in four standard bibliographic works: Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 vols. in 3; New York, 1957); Tristram P. Coffin, *The British Traditional Ballad in North America* (Philadelphia, 1951); Malcolm G. Laws, Jr., *Native American Balladry* (Philadelphia, 1951) and *American Balladry from British Broad-sides* (Philadelphia, 1957).

A large number of printed collections are available; only a few are mentioned here, some of which contain material outside the Anglo-American tradition, particularly Negro folk songs: Benjamin A. Botkin, *The American Play-party Song* (Lincoln, Neb., 1937); Byron Arnold, *Folksongs of Alabama* (University, Alabama, 1950); Phillips Barry, Fannie H. Eckstrom, and Mary W. Smith, *British Ballads from Maine* (London, 1929); Samuel P. Bayard, *Hill Country Tunes* (Philadelphia, 1944), a collection of fiddle and fife tunes; Arthur Kyle Davis, *Traditional Ballads of Virginia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); Helen H. Flanders, *Ancient Ballads Traditionally Sung in New England* (4 vols., Philadelphia, 1960-); Emelyn E. Gardner and Geraldine J. Chickering, *Ballads and Songs of Southern Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1939); George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals of the Southern Uplands* (Chapel Hill, 1933); George Korson, *Coal Dust on the Fiddle* (Philadelphia, 1943); John A. and Alan Lomax, *Cowboy Songs* (New York, 1938); Vance Randolph, *Ozark Folksongs* (Columbia, Mo., 1946-50); Franz Rickaby, *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1926); Ruth Crawford Seeger, *American Folk Songs for Children* (New York, 1948); and the most important, Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (London, 1932).

Much has been published in the way of criticism, analysis, and theory. Only a few items, indicating the different directions of research, are given here: Phillips Barry, *Folk Music in America* (New York, 1939); Samuel P. Bayard, "Decline and Revival of Anglo-American Folk Music," *Midwest Folklore*, V (1955), 69-77, and "Prolegomena to a Study of the Principal Melodic Families of British-American Folk Songs," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXIII (1950), 1-44, both of which approach the entire body of Anglo-American folk music and treat it as a musical unit; Bertrand H. Bronson, "The Morphology of the Ballad Tunes," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXVII

(1954), 1-14; Sigurd B. Hustvedt, *A Melodic Index of Child's Ballad Tunes* (Berkeley, 1936); Bruno Nettl, "The Musical Style of English Ballads Collected in Indiana," *Acta Musicologica*, XXVII (1955), 77-84; Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk Song, Some Conclusions* (London, 1907); Evelyn Kendrick Wells, *The Ballad Tree* (New York, 1950). By far the most important study of the music of British ballads is Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads* (Princeton, N. J., vol. I, 1959).

An excellent survey of collecting and scholarship is D. K. Wilgus, *Anglo-American Folksong Scholarship Since 1898* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1959).

CHAPTER VI

A large body of literature on American Negro music exists, but much of it cannot be recommended from the point of view of authenticity and scholarship. Among the collections, Edward A. McIlhenny, *Befo' de War Spirituals* (Boston, 1933), N. I. White, *American Negro Folk-Songs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928), and George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1954) are useful. In the field of description and theory, these are representative: E. M. von Horbostel, "American Negro Songs," *International Review of Missions*, XV (1926), 748ff.; George Pullen Jackson, "The Genesis of the Negro Spiritual," *American Mercury*, XXVI (1932), 243-248; Guy B. Johnson, "The Negro Spiritual, a Problem in Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, XXXIII (1931), 157-171; Guy B. Johnson and H. W. Odum, *The Negro and his Songs* (Chapel Hill, 1925); Henry E. Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs* (New York, 1914); Rudi Blesh, *Shining Trumpets* (New York, 1946); Richard A. Waterman, "African Influences on American Negro Music," in Sol Tax, ed., *Acculturation in the Americas* (Chicago, 1952), and "Hot Rhythm in Negro Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, I (1948), 24-37. Bruno Nettl, *Music in Primitive Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956) includes a chapter outlining the relationship between African and New World Negro music.

The literature on the folk music of other immigrant groups to the United States is much smaller. George Korson, *Pennsylvania Songs and Legends* (Philadelphia, 1949), includes some relevant material. A few publications are entirely devoted to non-British European immigrants: C. G. Peterson, *Creole Songs from New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1909); Bruno Nettl and Ivo Moravcik, "Czech and Slovak Songs Collected in Detroit," *Midwest Folklore*, V (1955), 37-49; and Bruno Nettl, "The Hymns of the Amish, an Example of Marginal Survival," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXX (1957), 323-328, which also gives other literature on German-American folk music.

CHAPTER VII

The following important collections of European folk music are perhaps relevant to his chapter: Béla Bartók, *Hungarian Folk Music* (London, 1931); Béla Bartók and Albert B. Lord, *Serbo-Croatian Folk Songs* (New York, 1951); Franz Magnus Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877);

Ludwig Erk and Franz Magnus Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1859–1872); Eleanor Hague, *Latin American Music, Past and Present* (Santa Anna, Calif., 1934); Boris Kremenlief, *Bulgarian-Macedonian Folk Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952); Ilmari Krohn, *Suomen Kansan sävelmiä* (Helsinki, 1893–1912); A. E. Launis, *Lappische Juoigos-Melodien* (Helsinki, 1908); Elsa Mahler, *Altrussische Volkslieder aus dem Pecoryland* (Basel, 1951); John Meier, ed., *Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien* (Leipzig, 1935–); Felipe Pedrell, *Cancionero musical popular español* (Barcelona, 1948).

CHAPTER VIII

This field has hardly been touched in theoretical and scholarly literature. Some statements by professional folk singers are relevant here, however: T. Anthony and Burl Ives, "Wayfaring Minstrel," *Etude*, LXIII (1945), 688; and John Jacob Niles, "My Precarious Life in the Public Domain," *Atlantic*, CLXXXII (1948), 129–131. Biographical information on folk singers is available in Ray M. Lawless, *Folksingers and Folksongs in America* (New York, 1960).

CHAPTER IX

The methods of studying folk and primitive music are outlined by Jaap Kunst, *Ethno-Musicology* (The Hague, 3d ed. 1959), and in Chapter 7 of Glen Haydon, *Introduction to Musicology* (New York, 1941), also in several of the descriptions of primitive music listed in Chapter II. Some special problems in this field are treated in Bertrand H. Bronson, "Mechanical Help in the Study of Folk Song," *Journal of American Folklore*, LXII (1949), 81–86; George Herzog, "Speech-Melody and Primitive Music," *Musical Quarterly*, XX (1934), 452–466, and "Musical Typology in Folksong," *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, I (1937), 48–55.

Collecting techniques are discussed by Bruno Nettl, "Recording Primitive and Folk Music in the Field," *American Anthropologist*, LVI (1954), 1101–1102; and in several short publications by the International Folk Music Council: *Memorandum on Cataloguing and Classification of Sound Recordings of Folk Music* (London, 1955) and *Manual for Folk Music Collections* (London, 1951). The I.F.M.C. has also published a pamphlet, *Notation of Folk Music* (London, 1952), which surveys the available methods and makes recommendations. A guide to general research materials is Bruno Nettl, *Reference Materials in Ethnomusicology* (Detroit, 1961).

CHAPTER X

A scholarly survey of the uses of folk music in cultivated music is Walter Wiora, *Europäische Volksmusik und abendländische Tonkunst* (Kassel, 1957). A famous composer's view is presented in Ralph Vaughan Williams, *National Music* (London, 1959).

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